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CONTINUATION

OF THE COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

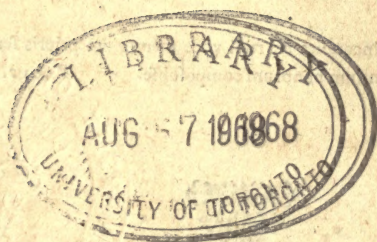


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CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

GEORGE II.

THOUGH the parliament of Great Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government, for a vigorous prosecution of the war, those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual, through a want of harmony in her councils. In the course of the last year the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigour in the administration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the

An. 1757.
Mr. Pitt
and Mr.
Legge are
placed in
the admini-
stration,
to the
great joy
of the
public.

An. 1757. misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak dispirited m—y; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the goodwill of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the Exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honourable though subordinate offices.

So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance: but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven. The administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country. They combated in council every such plan, however patronized: they openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people,

An. 1757.

people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the f—n. Far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to shew, that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the c—n, were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of g—t according to his m—y's inclination. These suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect. On the ninth day of April Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the Exchequer to the right honourable lord Mansfield, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, the same personage whom we have characterized in the beginning of this Continuation under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services.

They are commanded to resign.

The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, turned out one of the most shining

An. 1757. circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, inclosed in golden boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. Nothing could be more expressive of that reverence which ever waits on superior virtue, than the manner in which the nation displayed its respect and affection for those two fellow-citizens, whose names will always be dear to Britain, while her sons are warmed with the flame of honesty and freedom.

Clamour
against the
change in
the admin-
istration.

What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonour, and reduced her to the verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction long support it against the united voice of Great Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the f—n. It was not possible to persuade the people, that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honour of their country, and steady adherence to an upright disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence and claimed their veneration. A great num-





LORD HENLEY.
Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

number of addressees, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king, ever ready to meet half-way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue to a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly his majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth day of June; and five days after the office of chancellor of the Exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

An. 1757.
Addressees
presented
to the
king.

Mr. Pitt
and Mr.
Legge
restored
to their
employ-
ment.

It would not, perhaps, be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy council, and credit in the house of commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake. This consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself and prudent, because it was the only means of asswaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering counsels. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great seal, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council, on the thirtieth day of June; the custody of the privy seal was committed to the earl Temple; his grace the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, the lord viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commissioners for exe-

A coalition
of
parties.

A variety
of civil
promoti-
ons.

An. 1757. cutting the office of treasurer of his majesty's Exchequer; lord Anson, the admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of admiralty; Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his majesty's guards, garrisons, and land forces; and the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy council. Other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favour distributed, that the utmost harmony has ever since subsisted: ingredients seemingly heterogeneous, have consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement has proved displeasing only to those whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year, made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprize, which should at the same time produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian majesty, already depressed by the repulse at Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace. A well planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian monarch, and the

A descent
on the
coast of
France
meditated.

the duke of C—d, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the s—n and m—y were sedulously bent. His royal highness the duke, in a particular manner, urged the necessity of some enterprize of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony.

Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the

An. 1757.

The command of the fleet given to Sir Edw. Hawke, and of the land-forces to lieut. general Sir John Mordaunt.

Secrecy of the expedition.

An. 1757. the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. P— expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation.

The fleet
sails Sept.
8th.

At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France near Rochefort, or Rochelle.

Orders issued by
the general.

On the evening of the fifteenth orders were issued that confirmed their suspicions, and spread the utmost joy and alacrity among the men. Regulations were made with respect to the manner of landing; and the corps, directed to attack, had injunctions to march up vigorously to the enemy, reserving their fire till they came very near, and then running in upon them with their bayonets: orders which had all the air of a resolution to do business.

The

The seventeenth farther orders, respecting the debarkation, were issued; but on the nineteenth the whole fleet was surpris'd with a signal to lay-to, though the wind was fair, the night clear, and the headland distant about twenty leagues; in which situation eight hours, a space of time invaluable in such a conjuncture, were lost, before the signal was made to proceed on their course.

On the twentieth the fleet made the isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French man of war's standing in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase. A—I K—les, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, captain Howe, and Torbay, captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he run his majesty's ships into danger.

While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French man of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to the windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief pub-

An. 1757

Sometime lost by a signal to lay-to.

Admiral Knowles sent to take Aix.

He sends two ships to give chase to a French man of war.

An. 1757. lishing orders and regulations which do credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful had there ever been occasion to put them in execution*.

On

* The reader may be pleased with the perusal of the orders issued on the twenty-first by lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt, so well calculated to preserve good discipline, and inspire the officers and soldiers with that spirit of glory, which is the soul of all military operations.

“Whereas his majesty has, by his royal sign manual, authorised me to publish such rules and orders as are proper to be observed by all officers and soldiers under my command; as also to punish any offenders or transgressors by death, or otherwise according to the nature of their offence: and whereas the success of this important descent on the coast of France, may greatly depend on the good order and discipline to be observed by the officers and soldiers: I judge it quite necessary for the just execution of his majesty's orders, and for the safety and honour of the troops under my command, to establish the following rules and ordinances; and at the same time to declare that no offender against them shall meet with any pardon.

No soldier shall pass by day or by night beyond the centries of the camp, but with an officer: every man that at-

tempts it, will immediately be shot.

Whenever the army marches, the strictest order is to be observed; and if any soldier leaves his place without permission from his officer, upon any occasion, he shall suffer death.

When any private man has leave from his officer to quit his platoon, or division, a non-commissioned officer shall be left to bring him up.

All marauding and plundering, without the permission of the commander in chief, will be punished with death: and all other irregularities, or misbehaviour of any kind, with extreme severity; on the other hand, the general will make it his study and endeavour to reward the deserving.

Drunkenness will be punished with the utmost rigour, especially in those who are found drunk upon duty.

Men who are sent for wood, water, provisions, stores, &c. are to be commanded by an officer, or non-commissioned officer, in proportion to their station: and such officers, and non-commissioned officers, are to be answerable to the general for their conduct.

Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men upon duty, are

On the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix,

An. 1757.
Attack
and sur-
render of
Aix.

are to be very exact and diligent; and none are to absent themselves from their guards or detachments, without leave from their commanders, on any pretence whatsoever.

Soldiers of all corps are to obey the officers of all regiments, without distinction; and each is to do his best endeavours to forward his majesty's service, upon this important occasion.

The rolls are to be called over, by an officer of a company, four times in twenty-four hours; two of which shall be between tattoo and reveille.

Officers commanding upon any advanced posts, or outguards, shall have their rolls called every two hours; and whatever non-commissioned officer or soldier shall be absent at the calling of the roll, shall immediately be brought to a court-martial, and suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think fit to inflict.

Any soldier who fires away his ammunition, without order, will be accounted a disobedient of military command, and punished accordingly; and any man who flies from his colours under pretence of wanting ammunition, or for other causes, will be put to death.

A soldier is not to commit acts of barbarity, or cruel inhumanity, upon the inhabi-

tants of the country, under pain of the severest punishment. Whatever works the troops are employed upon, must be executed with all possible care and diligence. Both officers and men must engage heartily in every thing that tends to the public good.

The general does not doubt but that every part of the service will be cheerfully and resolutely carried on by the troops, that from their behaviour and conduct his majesty and their country may be satisfied that nothing has been wanting on their part to procure success.

Officers, who distinguish themselves, may be assured of the general's particular approbation and regard; and he will most certainly recommend them, in the strongest manner, to his majesty and the duke: and that he may have the satisfaction of doing this piece of justice to the officers under his command, he expects that what he himself does not observe of this sort, may be told him by the commanding officers of corps, with all the circumstances of advantage to the officers.

Whatever detachment, party, or battalion, shall behave with uncommon resolution, may expect all the credit that arises from such behaviour; and that a just account will be given of their performances."

Such

An. 1757. Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course, till having gained the length of the fort, he dropt his anchors close to the walls, and poured out so incessant a fire as soon silenced them. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to vice-admiral Knowles.

A descent
resolved
on.

Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a sixty gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enter-

Such were the orders issued by the general, which we thought necessary to insert, as they were received with loud acclamations, and unusual de-

monstrations of satisfaction, testifying how chearfully the troops would comply, if called upon.

prize

prize on Rochefort. This, a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lightened for the purpose, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined in a council of war, held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to go from the transports to the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. A number of men of war's boats, under the command of a lieutenant, were appointed to attend each regiment, and to receive the grenadiers picquet companies, and in a number proportioned to their bulk; but with great caution not to overcrowd the boats. The colonel of each regiment was directed to land with the first detachment, if it amounted to three companies. The troops were ordered to proceed silently and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for the division, and then to receive their commands from a captain of a ship of war, which they were enjoined scrupulously to obey. It was strongly recommended to the soldiers to imitate the example so lately before them, the cool and determined valour that appeared in the attack of the Isle of Aix. They were required to form and attack whatever appeared before them on their first landing; and colonel, now general Kingsley, was directed

An. 1757. directed to march with the grenadiers on their landing; with lieutenant-colonel Sir William Boothby, and major Farquhar.

The descent laid aside.

However judicious and agreeable to military rules these orders might appear, they did not fail to raise astonishment in the troops. The transports were at that time above four miles from shore, the enemy alarmed for eight days, and putting themselves in a posture of defence; several battalions had been seen marching along the coast from Rochelle; the shore, it was probable, was now lined with batteries; the sea was rough and the weather boisterous; the first body of men landed, which could not amount to eighteen hundred, must defend themselves for the space of six hours before a second disembarkation could be effected, and that without the hopes of a retreat, as the boats were ordered immediately to row back to the transports to take in more forces. All these, with a variety of other difficulties, were too obvious to escape the most unobserving foldier on board. Notwithstanding the dangers, but too apparent, there was the utmost alacrity among the troops; and every thing was pursued with so much spirit and expedition, that all the boats were filled an hour sooner than the time appointed. Here they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when at length an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, wholly abandoned.

The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, in consequence of a letter from Sir Edward Hawke, the land officers took the final resolution of returning to England without any farther attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the m—y, and chusing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry f—, the murmurings of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money!

The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The m—y, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put the nation to great expences, before they obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the m—y resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the public clamours, and afford general satisfaction.

The fleet
returns to
Spithead.

An. 1757.

The people clamour.

The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to his prejudice; but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament; or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked, whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly mentioned that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron, as occasioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty fourth; and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the

com-



CHARLES Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

commander in chief had complied with his majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as shall be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping as shall be found there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the minister who had projected it. An. 1757.

Accordingly a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, were appointed by his majesty, pursuant to the following warrant, to inquire into the reasons why the fleet should have returned without having executed his majesty's orders. "Whereas we were pleased, in August last, to send a number of troops on an expedition against France, with orders and instructions to attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or near Rochefort; in order to attack, if practicable, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of their power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, that should be found there; and to exert such other efforts as should be judged most proper for annoying the enemy, as by our several instructions to the commander of the said forces does more fully appear: and whereas the troops sent for these purposes are returned to Great Britain, no attempt having been made to land on the coast of France; concerning the causes of which inaction, we think it necessary that enquiry should be made by the general

His majesty appoints a board of inquiry.

An. 1757. ral officers herein after named, in order that they may report those causes to us, for our better information : our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby nominate and appoint our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor Charles duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; our trusty and well-beloved George Sackville, commonly called lord George Sackville, and John Waldegrave, major-generals of our forces, to examine and inquire touching the matters aforesaid. And you are to give notice to the said general-officers when and where they are to meet, for the said examination : and the said general-officers are hereby directed to cause you to summon such persons (whether the generals or other officers employed in the expedition, or others) as are necessary to give information touching the said matters, or as shall be desired by those who were employed in the expedition. And the said general-officers are hereby farther directed to hear such persons as shall offer to give them information touching the same; and they are authorized, impowered, and required, strictly to examine into the matters beforementioned, and to report a state thereof as it shall appear to them, together with their opinion thereon. All which you are to transmit to our secretary of war, to be by him laid before us for our consideration."

This warrant, dated on the first day of November, was directed to Thomas Morgan, Esq; his majesty's judge-advocate; and, in consequence of it, the three general-officers met on the twenty-first of the same month. To judge of the practicability of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire into the nature of the intelligence upon
which

which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, now lord Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy council, and contained in substance, That colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetment, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covert-way, and in many places no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side, appeared; and on the land-side he observed some high ground, within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition, the colonel was told by the engineer, the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of

An. 1757.
Proceed-
ings of
the court
of inquiry.

An. 1757. the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had got a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart; but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand.

This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made, on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted.

The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy council. This person declared, that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coasts of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Île of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted

acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bayonne: the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided near the land, except one called the Boïard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Magnanime alone could destroy: that the largest ships might come up to the Virgerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow, where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing-place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses. Great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was inclosed only with pallisades, without a fosse.

To the intelligence of colonel Clark and Thierry, the ministry added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces; whence it appeared highly probable, that not more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux.

In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions given to Sir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all

An. 1757. the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms.

The board of inquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a coup de main, or surprize, which it would be impossible to execute, if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops, was discovered; particularly

cularly where the ships could protect them, and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, was found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper, to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a coup de main. Judging, therefore, the dependance on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place; which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Brest and St. Malo's to Rochefort. The accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprize: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined

An. 1757. enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy, and executing his majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather: and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land-officers, to return to England.

Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave in the following report to his majesty; a report, at that time, deemed equivocal, artful, and unsatisfactory.

Result of
the court
of inquiry.

"It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed, is the not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeable to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by admiral Hawke (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose), but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the *Barfleur*, the ship designed for that service, was on ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon.

"We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the
twenty-

An. 1757.

twenty-fourth of September, from rear-admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been sent out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned and held on the twenty-fifth; in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviseable nor practicable: but it does not appear to us, that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty: neither does it appear to us, that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so far changed, in respect of its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's commands.

“ And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dispatch.

“ We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: but, as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition;
since

An. 1757. since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside, in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

Reflections on the report.

However vague, and even inconsistent, this report, signed by the general-officers Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, might appear to many persons, it probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the m—r made a handle of it, to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon farther examination. But the people were still his advocates: they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence perhaps might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to M——'s inactivity: the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation, than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander

mander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinized, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third day of December. The court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued by several adjournments to the twentieth.

An. 1757.
A court-martial is appointed to try Sir John Mordaunt.

Lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, That he being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, hath disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of inquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner: but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered; and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial, as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman, in particular,

An. 1757. cular, drew attention : he was accused of tergiversation, and of shewing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character : his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service by his f——n.

Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West Indies, and insure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East Indies ; but these we could not mention before, without breaking the thread of our narration.

Squadron
of men of
war sent
to the East
and West
Indies.

On the ninth of February admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward ; as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West Indies ; and commodore Stevens with the trade to the East Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and commodore Holms, with eleven ships of the line, a fireship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The admiral had on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay. In May admiral Osborne, forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean ; as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

In the mean time the privateers fitted out by private merchants, and societies, greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a pri-





Hon.^{ble} JOHN LOCHART. late Commander
of His Majesty's Ship Tartar.

vate ship of war, equipped by a society of gentlemen who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthièvre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds; and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth, so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his Catholic majesty, with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthièvre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined; and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English floops and men of war; exclusive of the Duke de Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the Dover man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockart, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem
and

An. 1757.
Success of
the Eng-
lish priva-
teers.

An. 1757. and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen; whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

Riots occasioned by the high price of grain.

Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered upon to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several countries, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour, at the most unreasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops, with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by forestallers and engrossers,

grossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail; and of the Streights fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the company doubled the sum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage.

Before we quit the affairs of Britain, we cannot avoid mentioning a few occurrences, which deserve to be recorded, however desultory, unconnected, and incapable of historical embellishment they may appear. Among the most interesting we may reckon those tumults and riots of the populace in Kent, Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, York city and county, to oppose the execution of the militia-bill. Many disorders were committed on these occasions; and the people, incensed at the irregularity of the proceedings of those gentlemen appointed to carry the act into execution, and with certain defects in the act,

An. 1757. seemed wholly to neglect the real advantages, which in time must necessarily flow from a measure the most constitutional and salutary that can be imagined, for the defence and protection of public liberty.

His majesty, having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order, that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford haven, until the fortifications, voted in parliament, could be erected. How far his majesty's directions have been complied with, the number of merchantmen taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coast, sufficiently indicates. His majesty likewise, reflecting on the late hardships sustained by the innholders in the county of Kent, by the constant quartering of soldiers in their houses, was pleased to direct the sum of three thousand pounds to be transmitted to them, and distributed by Mr. Austen, clerk of the peace for that county: a well-timed act of liberality, that fully evinces his majesty's extreme affection and tender regard for the interest and happiness of his people.

A view of
the opera-
tions in
America.

Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the earl of Loudon to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumstances required, that he should act the part of a mediator, in order

to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. An. 1757.

The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes, in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength, was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed that had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudon, after the commander in chief; and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood-creek, and filled it with logs. Every person, the least ac-

An. 1757. acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time lord Loudon was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louifbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The

return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of men of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet, bound from Louisbourg for France, was taken by one of his majesty's ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates, moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Halifax were fully apprized of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt: it

An. 1757. was therefore almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprize abortive.

This resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief. Lord Loudon's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigour and resolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three battoes to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four

four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Hallifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George. It was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and with a good train of artillery began playing on the garrison.

On the very day he invested the place he sent a letter to colonel Monro, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison has lately, says he, experienced their cruelty: I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed; which will not be in my power in other circumstances. Your persisting in the de-

An. 1757. fence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the sieur Funtbrune, one of my aid-de-camps. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm."

General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's designs and motions; yet, either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy, meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit, till they had burst almost all their cannon, and spent their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender, while they were in any condition to defend themselves; or could reasonably expect assistance from general Webb. They even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into
the

the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties; whereby the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessities of war; escorted by a detachment of French troops, or interpreters attached to the savages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of the soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, the troops in the retrenchment, and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most Christian majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleryists, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, be delivered

An. 1757. vered in the space of three months at Carrilon; in return for which an equal number of the garrison of Fort William should be capacitated to serve; agreeable to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escorte sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six pounder.

Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, that they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The savages, in the French interest, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of the few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, scalping, tomahawking, and again acting the tragedy at Oswego, with a thousand additional outrages and barbarities. The throats of
many

many women, we are told, were cut, their bodies An. 1757.
ript open, bowels torn out, and insultingly thrown
in their faces, with such savage marks of rage and
horrible cruelty, as, for the sake of humanity,
ought to be discredited. Can posterity be brought
to believe, that two thousand Britons, with arms
in their hands, could be tame spectators of these
and more shocking barbarities? That they would
permit a rabble of brutal savages to seize infants
and children by the heels, and wantonly beat out
their brains against trees and stones! Yet were
these and other enormities, equally disgraceful to
humanity, committed in sight of the French and
British forces, if we may credit the testimony of
credible evidences. However, the greatest part of
the British garrison got safe, though in a miserable
condition, to Fort Edward, after being pursued for
seven miles by the Indians; and the rest, flying for
protection to the marquis de Montcalm, were by
him sent home. A little time after the enemy de-
molished the fort, carried off the effects, provision,
artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison,
together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and
departed, without pursuing their success by any
other attempt.

Thus ended the third campaign in America,
where, with a vast increase of forces, a clear supe-
riority over the enemy, an army of twenty thou-
sand regular troops, a great number of provincial
forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less
than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned
our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to
be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and
relinquished a large and valuable tract of coun-
try,

An. 1757. try, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name *.

Naval
transacti-
ons in
America.

As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudon's departure from Halifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruize might have been, can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing

* We could not, without interrupting the principal operations, take notice of two occurrences which ought to have been mentioned.

In the month of July a stratagem, contrived by the enemy, had very nearly occasioned the loss of Fort Johnson. They proposed rushing into the fort in the evening, when the gate was opened to admit the Negroe women, sent out every day to milk the cattle. Happening to be a few minutes too late, the gates were fortunately shut before their arrival; upon which they knocked for admission, were challenged, and fired upon by the centinel. Immediately the cannon was fired to alarm the country, and the enemy, perceiving their scheme baffled, retired with precipitation.

The other occurrence we mentioned is of a civil nature. The governor and council of Nova Scotia, taking into con-

sideration the most expedient methods for carrying into execution those parts of his majesty's commission and instructions, relative to the manner of holding the general assembly of that province, came to a resolution, that a house of representatives of the province shall constitute the legislature of Nova Scotia, in conjunction with his majesty's governor and commander in chief for the time being, and his majesty's council of the said province. It was further resolved, that the general assembly be elected and convened in the manner following, viz. Twelve members to be elected for the province at large, till such time as it is divided into counties. Halifax was appointed to send four members; and other towns and corporations in proportion to their bulk and value to the province, making in all twenty-two; the number of representatives to sit in the house.

him-

himself with certainty of the enemy's strength; while others persuade themselves, that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August; and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Hobbins was greatly inferior in strength; and it is obvious, that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken in a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began the fleet was about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast. Here the wind providentially shifting, saved the whole squadron, except the *Tilbury*, shipwrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted; others threw over their guns; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year.

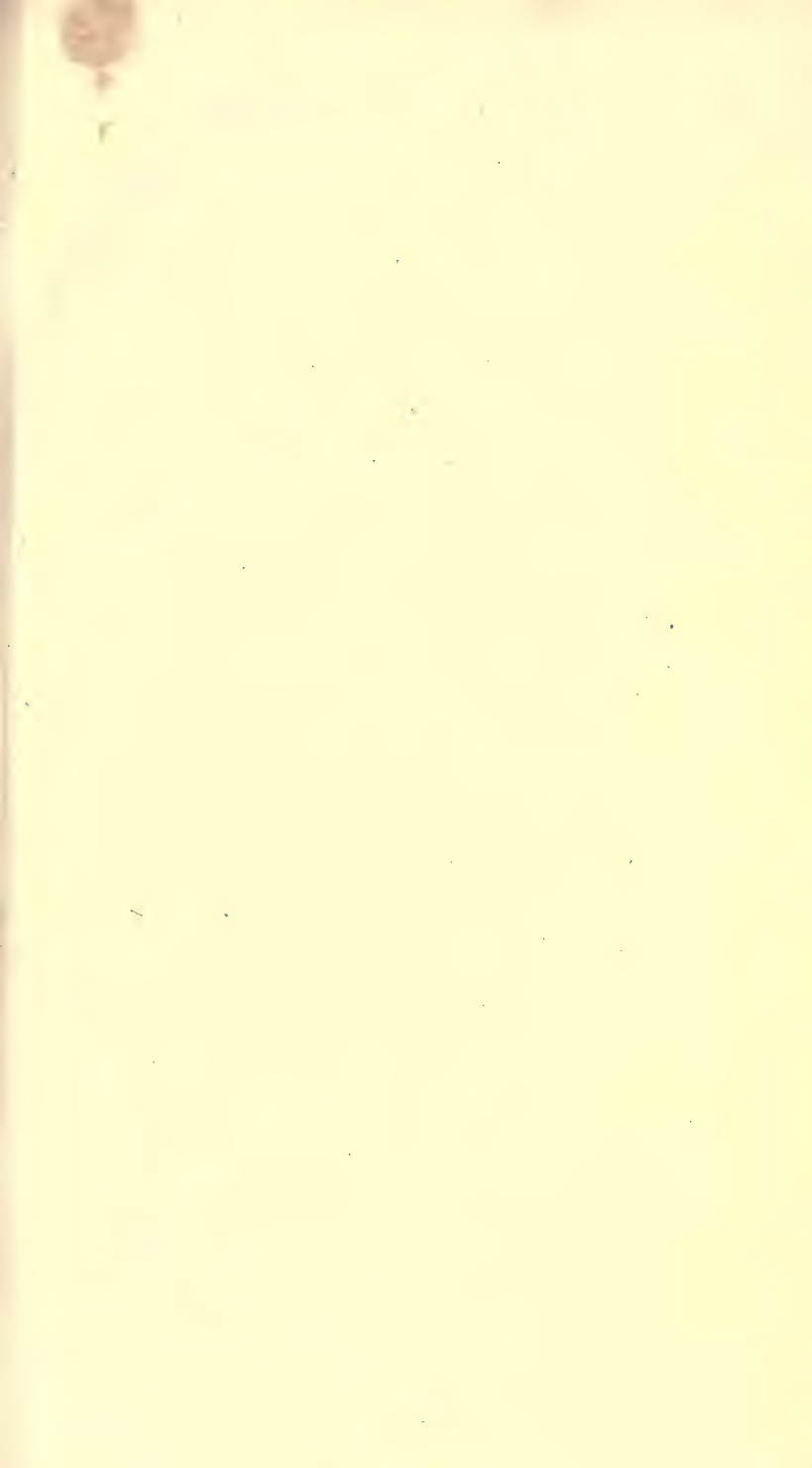
In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the pre-

An. 1757.
Reflections on the
campaign
in Ame-
rica.

preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction in the mother-country, produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprize, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander, and without which the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

A view of
the Eng-
lish affairs
in the East
Indies.

In the East Indies the scene was changed greatly, to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. Here the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left admiral Watson and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the thirty-first of January the admiral with two ships appeared before the town, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon silenced; and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Co-
lonel





COLONEL COOTE.

lonel Clive, on the other side, invested the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisions, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughly, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the Nabob, as here his storehouses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughly, the viceroy of Bengal assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and six hundred men, under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and begun the attack

An. 1757. so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet did it sufficiently intimidate the Nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the phirmand granted by the Mogul: that all merchandize belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta, in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed, with the Nabob's own hand.

Feb. 9. Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements;

An. 1757;

ments; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandénagore, a French settlement, higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandénagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the admiral. On the eighteenth of March the admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war; and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with the king's troops took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and

March 17;

An. 1757. one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors.

March 24. By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church-ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which have deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation, before they alarmed the French; and now, when the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded.

cluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated, that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the Nabob deposed. In consequence a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, second in council at Calcutta, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to insure success. When the plan was fully concerted between the disaffected Indians and the council, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chan-

An. 1757. denagore, and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen, to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river on the twenty-second; and the same day attacked the viceroy at the head of twenty-thousand men with his own forces only, Ali Khan declining as yet to declare himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavat, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the mal-contents. It was before concerted, that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob: accordingly the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose the Sulajud Dowla, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as subah, or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. Soon after the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies such liberal rewards, and granted the company so extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandena-

gore,

An. 1757.

gore, the French were intirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond the most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; above two millions sterling paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify their losses; the soldiers and seamen gratified with the sum of six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these signal successes was, however, considerably diminished by the death of admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholsomeness of the climate on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French, a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm.

France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy,
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com-

An. 1757. complying, good-natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business, or of war. Contented with the pleasures of a mistress and a court, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambition beyond the present hour. Of all men on earth, such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest state of servility, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and fullness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by his crimes, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe!

An attempt to assassinate the king of France.

On the fifth day of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. Immediately his majesty, applying his hand to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." A vein was opened, the wound dressed, and happily found not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. How-

ever,

ever, as suspicion remained that it might have been poisoned, several experiments were made upon animals, all of which served to relieve the people from their apprehensions. As for Damien, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposed accessaries to the design upon the king's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could suggest, was practised without effect: nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture again was applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, mater-

An. 1757. rial was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, and we consider it as a felicity, to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms torn with red-hot pinchers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs, to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draught, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extension of his sinews for the space of an hour, during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the physician and surgeon, attending, declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons were separated: upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew afresh; a thigh and arm were separated, and, after several pulls, the unfortunate culprit expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Da-

mien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. An. 1757.

Thus ended the cruel procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Lewis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared, from undoubted evidence, and incontestable proofs, that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature. He was, in fact, rather an object of the deepest compassion, than of those infernal tortures; in applying which they seemed to forget that he was a fellow-creature, labouring under an infirmity dreadful in itself, unavoidable, and that might possibly be the lot of any among his punishers.

Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at War*. Their dis-

Change
in the
French
ministry.

* They were both dismissed from their employments on the third of February, but with very different marks of the royal displeasure, by the following letters from the king.

“ Monf. Machault,

“ Though I am persuaded of your probity, and the up-

rightness of your intentions, the present situation of affairs obliges me to demand your resignation of the post of secretary for the marine. Depend still on my protection and friendship. If you have any favours to ask for your children, you may do it at all times.

An. 1757. dismissal was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration.

Several
provinces
of France
desolated
by the
melting of
the snow.

About the same time, some of the most fertile provinces of that kingdom were grievously desolated, by the melting of the snow which had fallen in the winter. The fatal effects of this accident had been apprehended long before the thaw happened, and every possible precaution had been taken to guard against them: but the calamities which ensued, exceeded all that were foreseen. The rich province of Artois, in particular, suffered most severely. The rivers every where swelled with such incredible rapidity, that men, women, and children were carried away by the violence of the torrent: the valleys were immediately overflowed: roads, houses, churches, bridges, mills, all mingled in one promiscuous ruin. Cattle of all kinds without number perished, and the corn-fields were torn up and ruined: in short, nothing was able to resist this dreadful inundation, attended with the most ruinous consequences to the unhappy peasant.

His majesty, to shew the queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near

times. It is proper that you should stay for some time at Arnonville.

LOUIS.

"P. S. I reserve to you your pension of twenty thousand livres, as minister, and the honours of keeper of the seals."

"Mons. d'Argenson,

"Having no farther occasion for your services, I order you to resign to me your post of secretary at war, and your other employment, and to retire to your estate at Ormes.

LOUIS."

eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the Empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire, and with no other intention, as was pretended; but in reality with a view to reduce Hanover also; the French judging, that the same blow by which they hoped to crush the king of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the Imperial army of execution, consisting also of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops under Soubise passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the king of Prussia upon the borders of the Low-Countries; whilst a detachment from d'Etrées's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

At the close of the last campaign, the king of Prussia, having gained a considerable advantage over the Imperialists under the command of marshal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at
Pir-

An. 1757. Pirna*, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages. His majesty and marshal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments

* As there was somewhat very particular in the articles of this capitulation, in the easy indifference with which the king of Prussia answered the Saxon general's demands, and in the compassionate regard which he testified even for his enemies, they are worthy the reader's attention, and may help to reflect light on the character of this enterprising monarch. These articles were as follow :

" I. The army of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, shall surrender to the king of Prussia prisoners of war.---Answer. If the king will give me that army, 'tis needless to make them prisoners of war.

II. The generals, soldiers, &c. shall have all their baggage and cloathing.---All that can be preserved of their baggage shall be faithfully restored to them.

III. His Prussian majesty is chiefly requested to cause the army to be furnished with the necessary provisions and forage, and that he will be pleased to give proper orders for this purpose. -- Granted, and rather to-day than to-morrow.

IV. The generals, commandants, and all persons ranking as officers, engage themselves in writing, not to bear arms against his majesty

the king of Prussia till peace be restored; and they shall be left at liberty to stay in Saxony, or to retire whithersoever they think proper ---- Those that intend to enter into my service, may, from this very moment, have liberty so to do.

V. The life-guards and grenadier-guards shall not be included in the first article; and his Prussian majesty will be pleased to appoint the place in the electorate of Saxony, or in the territories depending thereon, where the said two corps shall be distributed.--- There is no exception to be made; because it is known that the king of Poland did give orders for that part of his troops which is in the said kingdom to join the Russians, and to march for this purpose to the frontiers of Silesia; and a man must be a fool to let troops go which he holds fast, to see them make head against him a second time, and to be obliged to take them prisoners again.

VI. The generals and field-officers, and all the officers, shall keep their swords; but the arms, belts, and cartridges, both of the subalterns and soldiers, horse and dragoons, &c. shall be carried to the castle of Konigstein, together with the colours, standards, and kettle-drums.

ments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and marechal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the county of Glatz. An. 1757-

In the mean time, the Empress-queen finding that the force which she had sent out against the

drums.---- Kettle-drums, standards, and colours, may be carried to Konigstein; but not the arms, no more than the cannon belonging to the regiments, the warlike stores, and the tents. The officers, no doubt, shall keep their swords; and I hope that such of them as are of a willing mind, will make use of them in my service.

VII. The same thing shall take place with regard to the field-artillery, and the provision-waggons.---Granted.

VIII. His Prussian majesty shall give assurances, that no officer or soldier shall be obliged against his will to enlist in his army; and that, after peace is restored, they shall be all sent back to the king of Poland: on the other hand, his Polish majesty may not refuse dismissal to the generals, and to the other officers of his army, who may engage in any other service.---No body need trouble his head about this. No general shall be forced to serve against his will: that's sufficient."

The other articles were neither particularly remarkable, nor characteristic of the generals who signed them: wherefore we shall only add, that

the Saxon troops, after being incorporated with those of Prussia, either disliking the severity of the Prussian discipline, which they had not been used to, or from a desire of rejoining their lawful sovereign, deserted in great numbers. Among others, a whole regiment, being ordered to Berlin, to keep garrison there during the war, whilst upon their march went off in a body, and fled into Poland by the way of Crossen, from whence they were followed by a battalion of another Saxon regiment, which was there in garrison: upon which his Prussian majesty broke all the other Saxon regiments he had taken, and separated them into such small divisions, as to have no reason to apprehend their combination, nor to dread their being remiss in their duty.

When the queen of Poland was informed of these desertions, she expressed her disapprobation in the strongest terms, foreseeing that her country would be obliged to furnish other troops in their stead; and accordingly the magistrates were ordered to raise speedily four thousand fresh recruits.

king

An. 1757.
State of
the con-
federacy
against
the king
of Prussia.

king of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the Czarina, true to her engagements, dispatched an hundred and thirty thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design particularly to invade the Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic to aid the operations of this numerous army.

The Austrian army, assembled in Bohemia, amounted to upwards of a hundred thousand men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain and marshal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that tho' their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join in the general confederacy. The duke of Mecklenbourg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with six thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the king of Prussia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, put under the ban of the Empire by the aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs escheated into the exchequer of the Empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to fur-

furnish their respective contingencies for putting this sentence in execution. An. 1757.

In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to those astonishing abilities which will render him the admiration of all future ages. The Russians, knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania, would not be able to feed their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march thither, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival there. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward; the king of Prussia having, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering*. However, notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to reinforce the garrison of that place. At the same time he gave such orders for the tranquility of Dresden, that, though

The progress of the Russians stopt.

Strict attention of the king of Prussia.

* This is the reason which has hitherto been publicly assigned for the sudden halt of the Russians: but that this extraordinary event must have had

some other more secret cause, is evident from the disgrace of the great chancellor, count Bestucheff, which ensued soon after.

An. 1757. it was the capital of an enemy's country, and then the head-quarters of an enemy to that country, it enjoyed the utmost quiet; the Prussian troops behaving with the greatest regularity, and the king himself immediately redressing, in person, every grievance, of which the least complaint was made †. Leaving nothing to others but the execution of his commands, he examined every thing in person. In six days, he visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, gave the necessary orders for their security, and went to Neiß, where he settled with marechal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign; and particularly, that the marechal's army in Silesia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, was to have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require. At the same time, other armies were assembled by the king of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deßau; and sixty thousand chosen troops began

† Among many instances of his particular attention, we shall mention only the following. Ten of his life-guards being billeted upon a burgher of Dresden, were placed in the third story, which they resented, telling the man, that at Potsdam they were always lodged in the first floor; and threatened to turn him out of his apartment, and take posses-

sion of it for themselves. The burgher immediately presented a state of the case, in writing, to the king; who, in five minutes, returned it with this answer, written with his own hand: "Potsdam is not Dresden; Dresden is not Potsdam: my troops must be satisfied with a third story, where better accommodations are not to be had."

their

their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were settled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution.

All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards released. The countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was also arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying, that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The count de Waekerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the prince royal of Poland, was arrested and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his majesty. The king of Prussia, having thrown two bridges

An. 1757. over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipzig were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians on the frontiers of Bohemia.

While the king of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field-pieces: and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell upon their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thousand men, in order to destroy the remaining strong holds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of nine thousand sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, consisting of a hundred and fifty hussars of the regiment of Putkammer, met a body of six hundred Croats, sustained by two hundred

Auf-

Austrian dragoons of Bathiani, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. The Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great-Britain, still, however, proper regard was shewn to the subjects of this crown: for an edict was published at Florence, on the thirteenth of February, wherein his Imperial majesty, as grand duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that dutchy were accordingly enjoined to pay strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferrajo, the captains of two French privateers audaciously addressed the governor, alledging that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea: but the governor prudently replied, That as they came in under English colours, he would protect them; and forbid the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was sent to

Neutrality of the Emperor, as grand duke of Tuscany.

Apr. 1757. the governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.

Behaviour
of the
Dutch;

The conduct of the Dutch bore a very different aspect: it was tame, pusillanimous, and cautious. Whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harraßs his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army: and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality, their High Mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

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Prussia.

Scarce had the French army, commanded by the prince of Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne, when they found themselves in possession of the dutchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them; the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdeburgh, who were sent to facilitate their retreat. The distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war, from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions, for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partizan Fischer, whose cruelties, during the last war, they still

still remembered with horror, was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the Empress-queen. Wesel was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate; and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place; to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country round under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of count Kaunitz-Ritberg, great chancellor to the Empress-queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the Empress-queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under the prince Soubise, was appointed at Neufs, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April.

The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marechal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Koningratz; reviewed the army of the late prince Piccolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Koflitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

During the recess of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour, count Bestucheff, great chancellor of

Declaration of the Czarina against the king of Prussia.

An. 1757. Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, "That the empress of Russia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: That the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the king of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the king of Prussia as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour: That, with this view, the Empress was determined to assist the king of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march †, under the command of general Apraxin; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial majesty hoped the Republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible." She farther recommended to the Republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the king of Prussia, and procuring harmony among

† This letter was written in December; and the Russians, as we observed before,

began their march in November.

themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties, with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the prince Czartorinski and count Mnishc. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

An. 1757.
Factions
in Poland.

In the mean time Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the Empress-queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, " That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify the extraordinary expences she incurred in her own defence, also the heavy losses sustained by her ally the king of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always done of

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An. 1757. her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the king of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of a harmony between them."

Upon the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the Czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin; but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment: and upon Sir Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador's continuing to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him, by order of the Empress, purporting, "That her Imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition, must necessarily surprize her Imperial majesty, as it shewed but little regard to her former declaration. The Empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly, that the king of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threatnings served only

to weaken the ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the Empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world; and to render the king of Prussia more blameable."

An. 1757.

The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopt, his Prussian majesty, whose wise maxim has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia, to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by marechal Keith; the second was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern; and the fourth by marechal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, marechal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia, on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. Their design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers; and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage: but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April, without

The king of Prussia enters Bohemia.

An. 1757. without meeting any resistance. The prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krottaw and Gräfenstein, without the loss of a single man; drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzén, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a body, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Cöhlín, under the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kratzén. Night coming on, obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning; when, at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns, by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand strong, commanded by count Königsegg, and posted near Reichenberg. As soon as the lines were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, ranged in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and intrenchments. They immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had intrenched themselves. But the prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons

of

The
prince of
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enberg.

of dragoons of the second line to advance, and he wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorff, and by the regiment of the prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground, and possessing the intrenchments, had their flanks covered, intirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception; whilst general Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising-grounds to pass, which were all occupied by the enemy, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharges of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they gave over the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded: among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds, and among the latter prince Lichtenstein and count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners; and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns and about an hundred men were killed, and sixteen officers and an hundred and fifty men wounded. All the Prussian commanders signalized themselves extremely on this occasion; and the duke of Bevern, in particular, increased the reputation he had acquired the

pre-

An. 1757. preceding year at the battle of Lowositz, by exhibiting fresh proofs of his skill and courage.

The king of Prussia, on receiving the news of this success, addressed himself to his regiment of guards to this effect: "See, my boys, a most happy beginning! The prince of Bevern has defeated the Austrians at Reichenberg. This promises us, that, with God's assistance, we shall have the like success." To which the regiment answered, with loud huzzas, "Long live the king, our incomparable sovereign!" which was immediately followed by the united acclamations of the rest of the army.

After this battle marechal Schwerin joined the prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The prince of Anhalt-Deffau, with his corps, drew near the king of Prussia's army; after which the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian majesty having passed the Egra, his army and that of marechal Schwerin were so situated as to be able to act jointly.

The king of Prussia gains a complete victory over the Austrians near Prague.

These advantages were but the prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the king himself gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the

the object of his other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions: whereupon he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which, having been reinforced by the army in Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men; strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Zifcka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi. Prince Charles of Lorrain and marechal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post: but the king of Prussia, whose vivacity overlooked all difficulties, having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, passed that river in the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt-Deffau; and being immediately joined by the troops under marechal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz, in order to execute this design; and at the same time count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, tra-

An. 1757. versing several defiles and morasses, which for a little while separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed; but they soon recovered themselves. While the king of Prussia took the enemy in flank, marechal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation: upon this, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow me."

Marechal
Schwerin
killed in
the battle.

Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward; and, though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell marechal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory; an officer whose fidelity, intrepidity, experience, and military prudence, had deservedly gained him the friendship and confidence of his royal master. Cool intrepidity in action, a quick discernment, and rapid execution, were the distinguishing characteristics of this commander.

In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and intirely broke it; while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the center being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Micheley, and being there joined by the horse,

re-

renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawa. In the mean time, the troops on the right of the Prussian army, attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the prince of Bevern, performed wonders, making themselves masters of two batteries; and prince Ferdinand of Brunswic took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valour on both sides, the Austrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians; the remains of whom, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city, with their commanders, prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Brown; but they were much harrassed in their retreat, by a detachment of the Prussians under marechal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wound-

An. 1757: wounded. Among the former, were general d'Amstel, the prince of Holstein-Beck, the colonels Goltze and Manstein, and lieutenant-colonel Roke. Among the latter, the generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blankensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians, was much greater. Among these last, was marechal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal shortly after.

The day after the battle colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, which he effected. He also completed the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off, from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the Empire.

Prague
invested.

The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the king commanding on one side, and marechal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was intirely cut off; and besides, prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls; together with about forty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat.

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Every thing continued quiet on both sides; scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had sallied out, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry, in case an impression could be made on the king's lines. It was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and hurry on a surrender. Happily a deserter gave the prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design, about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms.

The besieged make a vigorous sally;

This design was conducted with so much silence, that, though the Prussians were warned of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. The attack was begun on the side of the little town, against marshal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to at-

An. 1757. tack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branick and Podbaba.

The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners; but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who went out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion, from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempted to discover their disposition by kindling a fire. Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceiving the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river, and drowned.

but are
repulsed.

At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times

to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. While the attack was making, the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musquetry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. An. 1757.

At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp, to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Redhouse, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows, until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire, both of cannon and musquetry, for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the Redhouse, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, besides an in-

An. 1757.

Prague
bombard-
ed.Brave de-
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the be-
sieged.

finity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable; houses, men, and horses, wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants: the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, and laid wholly in ashes, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back; which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at four pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well conducted

salies were made; but they proved unsuccessful. An. 1757. The only advantage resulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

Whatever difficulties might attend the conquest of Prague, certain it is, that the affairs of the Empress-queen were in the most critical and desperate situation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken; the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw, in the actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience, under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was

Count Daun takes the command of the Austrian army.

An. 1757.

Character
of that
general.

now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria, and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied solely upon his own merit: without soliciting court-favour, he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth. His progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent: his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that monarch, by slow prudence and phlegmatic circumspection. Arriving at Boemischbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable, as to attract the notice of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle with dispirited shattered troops, sunk with disgrace, to an army flushed with victory. He retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he entrenched himself strongly, opened a way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp, divided the Prussian forces, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs, weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and

and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardor and discipline of the Prussian troops, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and, sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action, until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardor of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant alarms, and the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, in some degree effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily encreasing, and would soon be powerful enough, not only to cope with the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians amounted now to sixty thousand men, were deeply entrenched, and defended by a fine and prodigious train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries

An. 1757. erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot, not exceeding thirty-two thousand men. On the thirteenth day of June he quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Marechal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege intirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would result. With his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege, without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, elated with success, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marechal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight;

The king
of Prussia
advances
against
him.

fight; and his majesty found, that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him subsequent to the king's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist. Difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, put into disorder.

The battle of Kolin, or Kaurzim.

Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with redoubled ardour to the charge; but were a second time repulsed. For seven times successively did prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, tho' always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The king then made a last and furious

An. 1757. furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing; but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, after performing all that could be expected from valour tutored by conduct, and a soul inspired with that noble ardour which braves dangers, grasps at victory, and spurns difficulty, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable: on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less pernicious, however, to his majesty's cause than the frequent desertions, and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

The Prussians defeated.

When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburg, his majesty, leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took fresh horses, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback, and leading every attack. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; which was executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their

The siege of Prague raised.

their march, before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat. An. 1757.

Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian majesty were more than ballanced by the intrepidity of his conduct, and the candour with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the Earl Marechal †, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the king highly blameable for checking the ardour of his troops, to stop and lay siege to Prague. They would have had him to pursue his

† “ The Imperial grenadiers, says he, are an admirable corps: one hundred companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulsed by

their musquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it: she is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry.—Success, my dear lord, often occasions a destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better.—What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great Elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and an hundred thousand French auxiliaries.—I know not whether it will be disgrace in me to submit; but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me.”

An. 1757. conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the Empress-queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the Imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented count Daun from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march strait to this capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind; and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. With respect to the attack at Kolin, his majesty himself has generously given up that measure; and to this alone, perhaps, are we to attribute the subsequent misfortunes, and the duration of the war. However, we shall not venture to reflect upon operations in which it would be presumption in us to decide.

The prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern; and marechal Keith retreated the next day, when, marechal Brown having died before of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of the Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no farther mischief than killing about two hundred of their men.

The king
of Prussia
evacuates
Bohemia.

The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpressible joy; and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to eva-

cuat

cuatè Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The An. 1757. Austrians harraſſed him as much as poſſible in his retreat: but their armies, though ſuperior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late ſufferings, to make any deciſive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with ſituations eaſily defended.

The loſs of this battle was ſucceeded by a ſtill more affecting miſfortune: the death of a mother, whoſe maternal tenderneſs was ſuch as gave an additional ſtroke, which his Pruſſian majeſty was not prepared to receive.

The rapidity of the Pruſſian conqueſts being thus checked, we ſhall now ſee the war confined not to one part of Germany only, but the whole become a ſcheme of confuſion, deſtroyation, and bloodſhed.

To guard againſt the ſtorm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were tranſmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been ſent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmoſt expedition; not to ſuffer any horſes to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furniſh the magazines in that country with all things neceſſary for fifty thouſand men, of which twenty-fix thouſand were to be Hanoverians, and, in conſequence of engagements entered into for that purpoſe, twelve thouſand Heſſians, ſix thouſand Brunſwickers, two thouſand Saxe-Gothans, and a thouſand Lunenburgers, to be joined by a conſiderable body of Pruſſians, and the whole commanded by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland. But the juſtice of his Britanniſh majeſty, though he ſaw his German dominions threat-

Prepara-
tions for
the de-
fence of
Hanover.

An. 1757. threatened by the actual march of a powerful French army towards its frontiers, would not permit him to march an army into the field before he had published to the world the just motives that had compelled him to oppose force by force, and to defend himself against the invasion of his enemies by every means which God had put in his power*. The declaration, or manifesto, which his majesty caused to be published on this occasion was as follows: "His

* Both his Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, and the king of Prussia, had before, by their ministers, presented memorials to the dyet of the Empire, claiming the protection of the Empire against the invasion of the French: but as the dyet had already, by a majority of votes, declared itself against the king of Prussia, no effect could be expected from these memorials; for by that vote the several circles of the Empire were obliged to send their respective contingents to the assistance of the Empress-queen, for which purpose they were all raising troops, who were more likely to join with the French than to appear against them. However, these contingents were furnished very slowly, and with manifest reluctance; and it was still supposed that many of the princes of the Empire would declare themselves neutral, as the elector of Bavaria had already expressly done: and to induce them the more readily so to do, the king of Prussia sent a

body of his troops, under colonel Meyer, into Franconia, where they advanced as far as Nuremberg, and threatened to raise contributions upon all such as should refuse to declare themselves neutral.

On the other hand, the French minister had also, on the twentieth of April, presented to the dyet a declaration, dated the twentieth of March, wherein his master gave his reasons for sending his armies into the Empire; and, among other things, set forth, That, in order to prevent the war from spreading in the Empire, he had sacrificed his desire of a just revenge, and consented that the Empress-queen should make an offer of a convention of neutrality, in his name, for the dominions which the king of England possesses in Germany. And, by way of supplement to this declaration, the Empress-queen communicated to several courts, with whom she was in friendship, the conditions that were proposed for bringing about a neutrality in favour of the electorate of Hanover.

“ His Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, used his utmost endeavours to prevent the war which has arisen between him, as king of Great Britain, and the crown of France, and to accommodate in an amicable manner the differences which occasioned it. When these endeavours were found to be ineffectual, he still laboured to keep the war, which he could not prevent, within narrow bounds, that it might not interrupt the tranquillity of his dominions in Germany, much less the other states of Europe, who had no concern in the quarrel.

“ In consequence of this disposition, and because, in the autumn of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, it was become more probable than ever that France, to revenge the supposed injuries she pretended to have received from his Britannic majesty, would attack his dominions in Germany; his majesty, in the beginning of the follow-

An. 1757.
Declaration of his Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover.

nover. According to the overtures made on this head, the king of Great Britain, in his electoral capacity, would have been considered as having no concern in the present war. His troops, and those of the princes allied to him, were not to act against the troops of the Empress-queen and her allies. He was likewise to engage not to succour the king of Prussia, either with men or money. The passage through that part of his electorate which is situated on the left of the river Aller, was to be granted to the troops of her Imperial majesty and her allies, paying for what provisions, so-

rage, and waggons, they should want in the country: besides which they were to be allowed to establish magazines and hospitals in certain parts of the electorate. The town of Hamelen was to be put into the hands of the Empress, or one of her allies, as a deposit; or into the hands of the empress of Russia, or of the king of Denmark, who were proposed as guarantecs of the convention. Moreover, they were to make a repartition of quarters for the Hanoverian troops, whose number, by this convention, was not to be augmented.

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An. 1757. ing year, concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which he had great reason to hope his pacific designs would have been rendered effectual, as by this treaty, pursuant to the intention of it, it was probable the king of France would be disappointed in his views: and as a new war has since broken out unexpectedly, his majesty has carefully avoided taking any part in it.

“ It is impossible for the dispassionate and impartial, after considering the conduct of his Britannic majesty on this occasion, not to see the injustice of all the motives and pretences of France for invading the electoral territories of Brunswick, which are under the protection of the Empire.

“ If these pretences are founded upon the war which has broke out between England and France, it is easy to shew, that this war, both with respect to its causes and its ends, is entirely foreign to his majesty, as elector, and to his German dominions.

“ As to the second war which has been kindled in Germany, the crown of France, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, has not the least pretence, on one hand, to act against the states before mentioned, so long as his majesty cannot be charged with any breach of the said peace; and, on the other, France, as an ally and auxiliary of the Empress-queen, cannot justly act against a member of the Empire, who is not at war, nor has the least difference with her Imperial majesty.

“ But as France has, notwithstanding, entered the empire, on the side of Westphalia, with a numerous army, which, after having garrisoned the imperial city of Cologne, is advancing farther and farther into the electoral states of Brunswick, as it
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has already entered and raised contributions in the bishopric of Munster; and as its design against the estates of his Britannic majesty in Germany is too manifest to be doubted; he is compelled, by indispensable necessity, to assemble and march an army, to avert, with the assistance of the Most High, all violence, injustice, and usurpation, from his own estates and those of his neighbours.

“ To prevent the ill consequence of false and artful insinuations, his majesty has thought it highly requisite thus to declare to the whole world, that he is very far from having conceived any design to act offensively against any of the states of the Empire, or even against the crown of France; and that by the armament, and the march of his troops, to which he has been compelled, he has no view or desire but to repress, by the Divine Assistance, all invasion, violence, and hostilities; and if such should happen, to do, as a principal and original member of the Empire, what shall be just in the sight of God and man, and what he owes to the safety of the country which the Almighty has intrusted to his care.

“ He rests assured, that no person can mistake or misinterpret the justice of this self-defence, to which he is forced: and he confides particularly in the faith and friendship of his co-estates in the Empire, that they will not counteract his views in their favour, of keeping the calamities of war at a distance from their frontiers, but that they will rather facilitate and support them. That being well assured his majesty's troops will observe the most exact discipline, they will, in return, give them proofs of their good will, particularly by furnishing them, for ready money, with such provisions and forage

An. 1757. as they shall want. And, lastly, that they will not furnish his enemies with these, or any other necessities or accommodations that may be prejudicial to his majesty's dominions, or their own."

The allied army assembles, under the command of the D. of Cumberland.

After this declaration, dated at Hanover the twenty-third of April, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander the duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; six battalions under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervord and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Haufs, near Nienburg. The head-quarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

In the mean time the French on the Lower Rhine continued filing off incessantly. The siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians,

having passed the Wefer, as well to ravage the country of Paderborn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the elector of Cologne. On the other hand, colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Teklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. An. 1757.

After several other little skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Wefer. This was no sooner done than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and at the same time major-general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to reinforce that post. Count Schulemburg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckleburg. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the inclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town.

An. 1757.

Skirmishes
with the
French.

The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by major-general Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion; but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed; nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new-raised corps of hunters.

The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and staid there the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it: but they retired without attempting any thing farther; and, in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser, on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuyfen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeld, to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the environs of Herfort; and a few days after his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp, advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness reassembled; and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeld, which the

The duke
of Cum-
berland
passes the
Weser.

Hano-

Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only part of a magazine, which had been set on fire. An. 1757.

By this time the French were in such want of forage, particularly hay, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers, without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses, in order to subsist those that remained. However, on the tenth of June their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the convenience of forage, was put in motion; and, in spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war.

It was imagined, that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies: but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war; or whether the duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a single man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related.

The French follow him.

An. 1757.

Marechal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered lieutenant-general Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and six hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden; and lieutenant-general marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions, and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the sixth, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen; from whence M. d'Armentieres had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by brisk marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blanckenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of the bridges completed, in the night between the seventh and eighth. The marechal, having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across, without opposition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and intrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for

for this army, and came down the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth in the morning he got on horseback, by four o'clock, to see the duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven; and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The marechal, having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Broglio and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. These two generals, being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it; whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East-Friesland, under the command of the marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Eems to Embden, the only sea-port the king of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They therefore met to deliberate; but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down: and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers; whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops

An. 1757.

The
French
take Min-
den and
Embden;

An. 1757. enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline ; and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

and lay
the elec-
torate of
Hanover
under
contribu-
tion.

On Sunday the twenty fourth of July, the French, after having laid a part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford ; when major-general Furstenberg, who commanded the out-ports in the village, sent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of it : upon which his royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant general Sporcken ; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenberg ; but they failed in both : and though the fire of their artillery was very smart, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the duke of Cumberland's posts, together with the accounts he had received, that M. d'E-trées had assembled all his troops, and had with him a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness

The ac-
tion of
Haften-
beck.

highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him. He therefore resolved to change his situation for a more advantageous one, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve pounders and haubitizers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a continual morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-general Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery, and his royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impassable. In the evening his royal highness withdrew all his outposts; and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night.

On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, which they continued the whole day, marching and counter-marching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the center. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; and his royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, count Schulenberg to be reinforced

AN. 1757. with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field-pieces of cannon, and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hardenberg. His royal highness also caused a battery to be erected of twelve and six pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light he mounted on horseback, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which, the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness.

The fire of the small arms on the left increased, and the French seemed to gain ground; whereupon his royal highness detached the colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons round the wood by Afperde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching

ing round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it advisable to retire nearer the left of the army, which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttelguards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence, which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he incamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed.

The allies
retreat.

In this engagement, colonel Bredenbach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition: but preferring the care of his wounded to the carrying away of the cannon, he brought

An. 1757. brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies, in the whole of these skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

The
French
take Ha-
melen.

The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war.

The duke
de Riche-
lieu super-
sedes ma-
rechal
d'Etrées
in the
command
of the
French
army.

Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the marechal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsels of his favourite madame de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man that had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last, and even at the time no comparison was made between the military skill of the marechal d'Etrées, and that of the duke de Richelieu; but however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or at least most of his contemporaries

temporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the sixth of August, with the title of marechal of France; and M. d'Etrées, in consequence thereof, set out for Aix-la-Chapelle four days after. An. 1757.

Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand men to take possession of the electorate of Hanover, and lay it under contribution, which they did without the least opposition; and also of the territories of the duke of Wolfenbottle, as well as of many places in the dutchies of Bremen and Verden: and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chevreuse was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival there, the Hanoverian garrison was immediately disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. The French take possession of Hanover,

About the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, which he did without opposition; for he was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succours the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres, to get ready for him within and of Hesse-Cassel.

An. 1757. a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, which was more than could be found in the whole country, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

The duke of Cumberland, pressed on all sides by the French,

who take Verden and Bremen.

The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburg; lest they should attempt to march round on his left; and his royal highness encamped that night at Hausen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched the next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenburg. The French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by seizing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Sellsingen, where his head-quarters were on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been
able

able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign. Accordingly his royal highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost: but as it could not possibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war then in that river could have been of no service to him; he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, by his minister the count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven †, by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoveri-
ans

Is forced to sign the convention of Closter-Seven.

† This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

“ His majesty the king of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof, hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the count de

Lynar. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master's intentions, obliges himself to procure the guaranty mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was

An. 1757. ans laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

The

no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the count de la Lippe-Buckbourg, shall be sent home: and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to their respective countries, a general-officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and the passports to be granted them by his excellency the duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade: That the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount to between four and six thousand men, shall re-

main there under the guaranty of his majesty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility; nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe: and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general-officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating, between the two courts, for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As the aforesaid articles are

The Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole force of the French let loose against the

An. 1757.

The French, let loose by this treaty against the king of Prussia,

are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight and forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oſtē, in the dutchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the tenth instant to Bremenworden, by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and his excellency the marechal duke de Richlieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the king of Denmark's guaranty, which the count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the camp at Cloſter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Upon the representations made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain some

Numb. 13.

dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added :

I. It is the intention of his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article ; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented, that the country of Lünenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men allotted to it, his excellency the marechal duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guaranty of his Danish majesty, gives his consent ; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland engages, to cause fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe ; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck

H

in

An. 1757. the king of Prussia by this treaty, marechal Richelieu immediately ordered lieutenant-general Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the prince of Soubise: the gens-d'arms, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Marechal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled an hundred and ten battalions, and an hundred and fifty squadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbottle, he entered the king of Prussia's dominions with his army on the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many horrid enor-

enter his
domini-
ons,

where
they com-
mit great
disorders.

in the river Oste: provided always, that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is particularly guarantied by the count de Lynar in the name of his Danish majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight and forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his ex-

cellency the marechal duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremerworden, begin their march to retire in four and twenty hours after signing the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between lieutenant-general Sporcke, and the marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king's army.

Done, &c.
mities,

mities, which their general connived at. In the mean time the duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the eleventh of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

An. 1757.

Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbüttele, Halberstadt, and Magdeburgh, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, it most injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, retiring successively from Hamelen to Nienberg, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxtehude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of an hundred and fifty miles to get themselves cooped up in a nook, instead of taking the other route, which was only about an hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of safety: and, by this unaccountable conduct, the king of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the Empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all sides, inso-much that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the Empress a few months before, thro' his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself: his ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion

Reflections on the misconduct of the allied army.

Consequences of that misconduct.

An. 1757. of his territories by the French under the duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once hastened their motion, and entered Ducal Prussia under marechal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine, can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau: then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortrefs of Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia. Another body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last on full march to enter Saxony; and this left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian general, piercing through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. Their
king,

An. 1757.

king, harrassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was excluded from the Empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expences of the war: and, by this convention of Closter-seven, he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever, excepting what the British parliament might think fit to give him. How different is this picture from that which the king of Prussia might have sketched out the day he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian majesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists, and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies, as well during his stay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of.

Whilst the king of Prussia was in Bohemia, the empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, That if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes: and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying pro-

The Russian fleet sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic.

An. 1757. visions and merchandize from one port to another. One of these men of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which the Russian captain replied, That notwithstanding the dispositions of the empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would farther explain them, by declaring, that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruize. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon, to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

The Russian army under M. Apraxin quickens its motions, in order to invade Prussia.

The land-forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were designed really to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though general Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and shewed they were in earnest determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered; and by the articles of capitulation it

was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to serve against the Empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

An. 1757.
Memel
taken by
the Rus-
sians.

His Prussian majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conquest; caused the following declaration to be published, which is so full of sentiments becoming a great prince, that the reader will not be displeased to see it here at length.

“ It is sufficiently known, that the king of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning Empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off.

Declara-
tion of the
king of
Prussia on
this occa-
sion.

“ However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid

An. 1757. whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria.

“ His majesty hath given the whole world incontestable proofs, that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him, by their conduct, to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him.

“ His majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the Empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princess, if the truth could be placed before her without disguise. The King did more: he suggested to her imperial majesty sufficient means either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid, upon the justest grounds, the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views.

“ It wholly depended upon the empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the King. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe.

rope. It would have gained her more lasting glory, than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. An. 1757.

“ The King finds, with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood set aside by the imperial court of Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the King in his dominions; and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire.

“ In such circumstances, the King hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath intrusted to him, in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack.

“ His majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated.

“ As

An. 1757.

“As to the rest, the king will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the imperial court of Russia to justify its aggression: and as his majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of hosts will bless his righteous arms, that he will disappoint the unjust enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them.”

The army
of the
empire
raised with
difficulty.

When the king of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body, were required, by the decree of the Aulic council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria, were, thro' necessity, compelled to support that power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the Protestant princes, but also of the Catholics, shewed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the prince of Soubise. The Elector-Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to
the

Unwillingness
of many
of the
troops to
serve
against
the king
of Prussia.

the duke of Wirtemberg, being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were sold. The next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their ways through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in the barracks, and let their general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would shoot him. Mean while some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. The next morning the soldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

The king of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched, whilst marechal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open by means

The king of Prussia encamped at Leitmeritz.

An. 1757. means of a bridge. At the same time detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony.

The Austrians take Gabel.

As this position of the king of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment, commanded by the duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June, fell suddenly upon, and took the important post of Gabel, situated between Boemish-Leypa and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under major-general Puttkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

Upon their drawing towards Lusatia, the king of Prussia decamps from Leitmeritz, and marches thither.

The Austrians having by this means gained a march towards Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the prince of Prussia, to watch their motions; his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, whilst the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. The next morning, at break of day, prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought

fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escorte; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third. No attack was made upon the rear guard, tho' great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon shot of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta; on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

An. 1757.

The king's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune: for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the king of Prussia could have time to march to its relief; they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold

The Austrians destroy Zittau,

with many circumstances of great cruelty.

it

An. 1757. it out as long as possible ; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with so little intermission that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing farther to fear ; and that their friends, the Austrians, would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place : but in this their expectations were disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau : instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached ; so that all the valuable goods they contained, particularly linens, were either carried off or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town, from time to time, by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred

hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council library, and the salt-work. The queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the king of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

The corps under the prince of Prussia, which had been forced to see the destruction of this unhappy place, without being able to prevent it, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this the prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign †, quitted the army, and returned to Berlin. In the meantime marechal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage.

The prince of Prussia leaves the army,

† This was the reason that was publicly assigned for his quitting the army: but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on

that subject: upon which his majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

After

An. 1757. After resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Prussian army now reassembled at this place, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Deffau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success.

which re-
assembles
near Baut-
zen,

but is
weakened
by skir-
mishes
and de-
sertion.

Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason of this seems obvious. The Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war; because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

It will be proper here to take notice of some events, which could not easily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have

have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history. An. 1757.

The Empress-queen, more embittered than ever against the king of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, count Coloredo, and monf. Zohern, from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give the king of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her majesty the Empress-queen had thought proper to recal her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. Dayrolle, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time.

Ministers
of the bel-
ligerent
powers
recalled.

On the seventh of July general Pifa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the Empress-queen, till farther dispositions should be made; which was accordingly done.

The com-
muni-
cation be-
tween
England
and Os-
tend
broke off.

An. 1757.

The reasons alledged by the court of Vienna, for debarring the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, "That her Imperial majesty, the Empress-queen, could not, with indifference, see England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most Christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing by a message to his parliament, that she had formed, with the most Christian king, dangerous designs against that electorate: therefore her majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great Britain had, without scruple, openly violated."

However, notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend; the ministers of her Imperial majesty wisely considering, how good a revenue the postage of our letters brings into the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands.

Ostend

Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the Empress-queen still reserved to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries.

An. 1757.
Ostend
and Nieu-
port gar-
risoned by
the
French.

At the same time their Imperial and most Christian majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburg, that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them.

Ham-
burgh me-
naced.

The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin: but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologne, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant, and forty-seven men. By the surrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdeburg; and the Empress-queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and la Marcke alone.

Gueldres
capitu-
lates.

To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the king of Prussia. The advanced posts of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau at Pirna, were at-

Skirmish-
es between
the Prus-
sians and
detached
parties of
the Aus-
trians.

An. 1757. tacked on the tenth of August by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon caused them to retire, with the loss of several men and two pieces of cannon.

On the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprize. The Pandours attacked it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded several; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss.

These, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen: the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the Imperialists; and the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the king of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging

obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Koningsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation. An. 1757.

Field-marechal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian king *, whose situation now drew upon him the

Eighty thousand Russians advance against Prussia.

* Marechal Lehwald, to shew how much the court of Russia is every way worthy of being joined in alliance with France and Austria, published, on this occasion, the following declaration, in answer to an artful manifesto dispersed a little while before by the Russians, with a view of seducing the subjects of the king of Prussia.

“ The Imperial court of Russia, not contented with attacking the dominions of his majesty the king of Prussia, has not scrupled to publish a manifesto, whereby she endeavours to draw the inhabitants of Prussia into her dominions, and to alienate them from the allegiance they owe to their sovereign : to which end she makes use of insinuations, not only repugnant to the laws of war, but also contrary to the law of nations.

“ One may easily see that her design is to depopulate Prussia ; nor is it more difficult to perceive, that what that

court asserts in her manifesto, is quite void of foundation, and cannot even palliate her unjust views.

“ Foreigners never were constrained to settle in this country ; nor was any opposition ever made to their withdrawing, when they desired it : even the migration duties, paid in other countries, have not been demanded of them. Foreigners in easy circumstances, who, after having settled in Prussia, wanted to remove elsewhere with their effects, have been allowed to do it, without being cramped in any thing ; and this by virtue of the edicts of the first of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, and the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.

“ It is well known, that his majesty's subjects enjoy not only all the liberty possible and allow'd in well-regulated states ; that they may expect, on all occasions, the strictest justice ;

An. 1757. the attention of all Europe; some looking upon his distresses with pity, because they admired his great

but they also can truly boast of many other advantages under the wise government of their monarch.

“ On the other hand, it is no less notorious, that the inhabitants of the provinces under the dominion of the Russian empire, live in continual oppression; that they are frequently exposed to the most rigorous treatment; that the smallest faults are punished with exile in Siberia; and that foreigners, once settled in Russia, find it very hard to obtain leave to return to their own country, or to remove elsewhere.

“ Moreover, the present war affords sad examples of the little stress that is to be laid on the most formal promises. We have seen, that notwithstanding those promises, and in spite of the passports granted to those who had a mind to retire from Memel, in hopes of enjoying the advantages of public safety; and notwithstanding the necessity some were under to submit to the will and law of the strongest, hoping thereby to avoid the brutality of the soldiery, numbers of the said inhabitants of Prussia have been constrained to quit their country, and others have fallen a prey to the most enormous vexations, or have been abandoned to the pillage of the irregular troops.

“ The garrison of Memel is still detained under the most

frivolous pretexts: they endeavour, by the most terrible menaces, to force the soldiers to take on in the Russian service; and this too in spite of the capitulation, which allowed that garrison full liberty to retire. In this manner do they break promises, acknowledged by all civilized nations to be inviolable.

“ Though, under such circumstances, it is easy to perceive what danger one would be exposed to, by listening to the insinuations of that manifesto; and though his majesty is not in the least dubious of the fidelity and attachment of his vassals, subjects, and inhabitants of Prussia; nay, though he hopes that they will not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the vain promises and fallacious means used to deceive them, and that they will not deviate in any manner from the duties in which they are bound to their sovereign, it has nevertheless been judged proper, by way of farther attention to the happiness of the people under the government of his majesty the king of Prussia, to forewarn all and every one to beware of giving ear to the insinuations of the Russian court; but to continue carefully to keep their oath of allegiance to their sovereign.

“ If, notwithstanding that oath and the present warning, any of them should be induced, through

great talents; and others considering them as a just retribution for being too ambitious. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, colonel Malachowski, one of marechal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

An. 1757.
Skirmish
between
the Prus-
sians and
the Rus-
sians.

Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached near to one another in Brandenburg-Prussia, marechal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it ab-

through simplicity, levity, or malignity, to deviate from their duty, they must expect to be treated as perjured and rebellious subjects.

“ And, to the end that nobody may alledge ignorance in the case, we have, by virtue of the authority given us by his majesty the king of Prussia, signed the present declaration, and affixed thereto the seal of our arms. Done at the camp at Velau, the third of August,

one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven. Signed

LEHWALD,

Marshal of the king's armies, general in chief of his majesty's troops in Prussia, governor of the fortresses in Prussia, knight of the order of the Black Eagle, colonel of a regiment of infantry, &c.”

An. 1757. solutely necessary to attack their main army; and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of August.

Marechal
Lehwald
attacks
the Rus-
sians in
their in-
trench-
ments
near Nor-
kitten.

The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under the command of marechal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were intrenched in a most advantageous camp near Nor-kitten, in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an intrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Marechal Lehwald's army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men.

The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigour, that the Prussians intirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry; and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces: but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, marechal Lehwald, seeing that he could not attempt to carry it without exposing his army too much, took the resolution to retire; which he did in the best manner, and without the enemy's daring to stir out of their intrenchments to follow him. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in theirs. The loss of the Prussians, little exceeding two thousand, killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians left upwards of ten thousand, some accounts say

near fourteen thousand, men dead on the field of action; and the number of their wounded was very considerable. General Lapuchin was wounded, and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

After this engagement, marechal Lehwald changed the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterwald; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprize of every one, retreated out of Prussia, with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand men; together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Marechal Apraxin masked his design, by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that marechal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the sooner in their own country. However, the Prussians took several of them prisoners; and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned, though they still kept Memel, and shortly after

Hasty retreat of the Russians out of Prussia.

added

An. 1757. added some new fortifications to it. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Abſternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they paſſed through, without diſtinction. The Pruſſians were ſtopt in their purſuit of theſe barbarians, by the bridges thrown over the river Memel having been deſtroyed by the violence of the ſtream.

The Ruſſian army ſuffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it had paſſed; ſo that they could procure no ſort of ſubſiſtence but herbage, and rye bread. All the roads were ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes.

The real cauſe of this ſudden retreat is yet as great a myſtery as the reaſon of their ſtopping ſo long, the year before, on the borders of Lithuania; though the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the Czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fit; and had made ſome new regulations, in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government.

The king of Pruſſia, after daring the Auſtrian army to a battle, but in vain;

The king of Pruſſia, after remaining for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernſtedel; and on the fifteenth of Auguſt his army came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannon-ſhot of it: upon which the Auſtrians ſtruck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The king formed his army over-againſt them, and immediately

mediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night.

The next morning, at break of day, the king found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisse: the rest of their army extended along a rising-ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front, at the bottom of the hill, on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men a-breast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry; and on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp.

The king left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and Pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat.

The Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thousand strong: more than double the number of the king of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line
of

An. 1757. of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour; but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp.

The army of the Empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French under the prince of Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony: upon which his Prussian majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by marechal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp under the prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the Empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his farther approach, they retired to Eysenach, where they intrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth.

marches
against
the united
army of
the French
and the
Empire;
who, upon
his ap-
proach,
retreat;

While the two armies were thus situated, major-general Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the Empire, and a great number of Croats

Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance off. The enemy thereupon immediately took possession of the town and castle; but general Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemies with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon their new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the king himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion; and general Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about an hundred and thirty killed.

An. 1757.

and take possession of Gotha;

from whence they are soon driven;

After this action his Prussian majesty advanced near Eysenach, with a design to attack the combined army: but they were so strongly intrenched, that he found it impracticable; and his provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburg on the river Sala; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar; which last place, however, they soon after quitted.

but possess themselves of it again.

Upon the king of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion, which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeld's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and,

Action at Goerlitz, between the Prussians and the Austrians,

An. 1757. and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss, in this action, was considerable on both sides; but most so on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave general Winterfeld, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The generals Nadaſti and Clerici, count d'Arberg, colonel Elrickhausen, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded; and the young count of Groesbeeck, and the marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians; who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of their colours, and made general Kameke, the count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners.

in which
general
Winter-
feld is
killed.

The
prince of
Bevern
retreats to
Breslau.

After this skirmish, the prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntzau in Silesia, and on the first of October reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works.

Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of general Winterfeld was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian majesty, who, re-

ceiving

ceiving at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania, said, with tears standing in his eyes, " I may find resources against the multitude of my enemies ; but how few men are to be found equal to Winterfeld ! "

An. 1757.

The French, who, let loose against the king of Prussia by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred men, under the command of count Horn, whom prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops, with which his Prussian majesty had sent him to defend those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the count of Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men ; besides which, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while ; but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a considerable reinforcement from marechal Richelieu's army, which he now could easily spare, prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh.

The French, who had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, meet with a check ;

but obliged prince Ferdinand to retire.

The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the consummate prudence and amazing activity of their king, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all sides. Marechal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred squadrons, entered the country of

Hal-

An. 1757. Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army of the French and Imperialists, being joined by six thousand men under general Laudohn, who had just defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Weissenfels, a city in the very center of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin; and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau. In the mean time they made frequent, and always destructive incursions into Brandenburg; to oppose which his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the prince of Anhalt-Deßau from Leipzig, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops, under his command, to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburg, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians.

While these precautions were taking, general Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburg on the sixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs; but before they could do any farther mischief they were obliged to retire in great haste, by the approach of the prince of Anhalt-

Anhalt-Deffau, whose vanguard entered the city on the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the queen, and the royal family of Prussia, to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third ; and the most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre.

On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt, most severely, the cruel effects of the power of their new master. The Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of his king, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns; a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This truth they represented ; but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution ; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion ; but the sum demanded could not be found. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would soon be there ; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the same time a rumour was spread, that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect, were soon abated by his majesty's declaring, that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to col-

Leipzig
subjected
to military
execution
by the
Prussians.

An. 1757.

An. 1757. lect, among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns, and hostages were given, by way of security, for the payment of thirty thousand more within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before; and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain, was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

The king of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the princes Saxe-Hildbourghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving marechal Keith with only seven or eight thousand men to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the marechal to surrender; to which he answered, That the king, his master, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of besieging the city; but before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Prussia, who, judging that
his

his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was reassembled on the twenty-seventh of October, and remained at Leipzig the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth the king drew nigh that place; and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Mersebourg, he made five hundred men prisoners of war.

The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Merseburgh, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges; but these were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having passed that river through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November in the evening over-against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand Imperialists.

The king was going to attack them on the fourth, but deferred it; and that whole day was spent in a cannonade, which did no great damage to either side.

On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard their drums beating the march, and, so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which

The battle of Rosbach, in which the king of Prussia, with twenty thousand men, defeats sixty-five thousand French and Imperialists.

An. 1757. had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds, over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design; and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut: but it was soon perceived, that their several motions were contradictory to each other. At the same time that some of their infantry was filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds, with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that cavalry was seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up: it plainly appeared then, that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over-against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Merseburgh, the only retreat which could then have been left them.

In this situation the king of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only; and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general
who

An. 1757.

who commanded the right wing, to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left, which was done at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over-against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately; the enemies advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit; but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat, that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution; but the Prussian artillery was not behind-hand with them. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, their right changed its position; and having soon met with a small rising

An. 1757. ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them by; and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march. The king of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there; for which reason the king thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was general Meincke; and among the latter prince Henry and general Seydelitz. The enemy

lost

lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colours, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several generals, and other officers of distinction. Three hundred waggons were sent to Leipzig, loaded with wounded French and Swifs. Upon the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having had a morsel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turnips, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth.

The French, under the duke of Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince of Soubise, who, with great precipitancy, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the Imperial army, which was now almost intirely dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the king of Prussia, soon after this battle.

Whilst his Prussian majesty was thus successful against the French and Imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground a-pace in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of count Nadaſti, had already invested

An. 1757. Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian garrison, commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works: but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken care, during the siege, to throw up a strong intrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The Austrian
take
Schweid-
nitz:

After the reduction of this place, general Nadasdi, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city.

The whole army of the Austrians being now re-assembled; and intelligence having been brought, not only of the king of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately to attack the last in his intrenchments, and, if possible, to dislodge him. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the
morn-

morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders; and this continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a smart fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered with numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals, fearing their intrenchments would be intirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come up to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner *. His army there-

An. 1757.

defeat the
prince of
Bevern
near Bres-
lau.

* We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair, were interpreted into a premeditated design in the prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of re-

connoitring the enemy, with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret dissatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps,

An. 1757. thereupon retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day, surrendered the place by capitulation; one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the Empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by general Leswitz, governor of Breslau.

Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army; for it cost them the lives of twenty thousand men: a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening; and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were general Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

The king of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone,

haps, even afraid, to see the king his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslau, by quitting his lines, which, it is asserted, his Prussian majesty had sent

him express orders not to quit, on any account whatever; for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December; in which we shall find he kept his word.

An. 1757.

staid no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. That done, he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia; and, on the twenty-fourth of that month, arrived at Naumburg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached marechal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia; which he did so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself.

The king of Prussia marches for Silesia:

detaches marechal Keith, who lays Bohemia under contribution:

His majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with which he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz; where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by twenty-four thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their king upon this march *. With this force, tho' greatly inferior in number to that of

* While the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated with this news, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very

strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded by the king himself, which

An. 1757. of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were intrenched at Liffa near Breslau.

marches
in person
against
the Aus-
trians,
who were
intrench-
ed at Liffa:

On the fourth of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and sent a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Zithen fell upon them sabre in hand; and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Liffa.

General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning, fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second. They had been detached by the Austrians in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles off from their intrench-

which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his majesty's march; and at the same time this lucky inci-

dent, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence; for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen, by an army at the eve of an engagement.

ments.

ments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, general Zichen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered; and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that quickness and true judgment for which he has always been remarkable.

The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, troops reckoned, by all who ever saw them, the finest in the world, and the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could get up to it: after which the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the center of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that slow and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his great antagonist with more confidence. The Prussians, however, no way

gains a great victory over them;

An. 1757. terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach: but a most judicious disposition, which the king made, overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened, as he had foreseen; this general's horse attacking the king's right wing with great fury: but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; and after having, by a quick retreat, got at some distance, recovered themselves three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Towards night the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion: one of them, closely pressed by the king, ran towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement; and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of twenty thousand of the enemy prisoners, among

among which were two hundred and ninety-one officers, took an hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand wag-gons of ammunition and baggage. The consequences that followed this victory declared its greatness. Future ages will read with astonishment, that the same prince, who, but a few months before, seemed verging on inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own amazing abilities, without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harrassed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles; not only quite retrieved his affairs, which almost every one, except himself, thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the Empire at Rosbach on the fifth of November; and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the powers of the house of Austria.

Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslau, and, within two days after this great victory, every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success, were at first for storming it; but their more prudent general, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed;

An. 1757. obeyed; and, in consequence thereof, Breslau sur-
 retakes rendered to him on the twentieth of December in
 Breslau; the morning. The garrison, of which ten thou-
 sand bore arms, and between three and four thou-
 sand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of
 war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of
 high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure,
 with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands
 of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in
 their approaches. During the siege, a magazine
 of powder was set on fire by a bomb; which occa-
 sioned great confusion among the besieged, and
 damaged one of their bastions.

The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in
 the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so nu-
 merous, that it might be compared to a small army;
 and whilst that continued so, the king of Prussia's
 victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect. For
 this reason, tho' it was now the dead of winter, and
 the soldiers stood in need of repose, his majesty re-
 solved, if possible, to become master of that place
 before the end of the year: but as a close siege
 was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as strictly
 as the rigour of the season would permit. It was not,
 however, till the beginning of the ensuing cam-
 paign that this place was taken. The Prussians
 opened their trenches before it on the third of
 April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight,
 and erected two large batteries, which kept a conti-
 nual fire upon the town. The artillery of the be-
 siegers consisted of three hundred pieces of can-
 non, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars;
 an amazing artillery, and such as we have never
 heard of in former campaigns. On the night of
 the

invests
 Schweid-
 nitz;

the fourteenth the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein; whereupon the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced of its first number; being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade.

An. 1757.

takes it;

Thus all the parts of Silesia, which the king of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only re-possest themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the Empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

and becomes master of all Silesia.

The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved upon an open declaration against the king of Prussia, and, in consequence of that resolution, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that, by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded further, general Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, "That the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the

Hostilities of the Swedes in Pomerania.

Their declaration.

An. 1757. upper part of the dutchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country, must pay what money they had in their hands to general Hamilton, who was commissioned to receive the same for his Swedish majesty: That, moreover, an exact account was required within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured, that the Swedish troops should be made to observe the strictest discipline."

After this declaration they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and, on the twenty-third of September, after a siege of nine days, forced the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding-officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, saying, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honour, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, so generous as to give him his liberty.

That of
the Prus-
sians.

On the other hand general Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with which he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published, in answer to this, a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the king of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

An. 1757.

In the mean time marechal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Russians began their retreat, detached prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himself followed, with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wellin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took possession of the town on the second of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took an hundred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. Marechal Lehwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen. At the same time lieutenant-general Schorlemmer pas-

Marechal
Lehwald
forces the
Swedes to
retire.

An. 1757. fed with his corps from the ifle of Wollin into the ifle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for besides plundering and pillaging like hussars, they instantly raised a contribution of an hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with most severe exactions and levies. The army of the Swedes, tho' they did not fight a battle, was by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field.

Answer of
the Swedes
to the
landgrave
of Hesse-
Cassel.

The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the king of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions than they met with: but his Swedish majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request,

quest, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step, in favour of a prince who had not only broke the laws and constitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council too, seeing, or pretending to see the behaviour of the landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his serene highness towards the end of this year.

An. 1757.

Decree of the Aulic council against him.

The court of Great-Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so: but in vain; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the States-General had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew upon their High Mightinesses a farther remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year, by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria.

Memorial presented to the Dutch by colonel Yorke, in relation to Ostend and Nieuport.

‘ Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe

An. 1757. the king of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself, that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands.

‘ It was with the utmost surprize the king heard, that, without any previous consent of yours, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both.

‘ The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty, is indeed so unmerited, and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it : but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High Mightinesses.

‘ The king never doubted that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it.

‘ Your High Mightinesses will have perceived, that your silence on the first step, encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others ; and who can say where they will stop ? The pretext at first was, the need which the Empress-queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire,
and

and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. An. 1757

‘ But, High and Mighty Lords, it is but too evident, that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states.

‘ The late demand made to your High Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements thro’ some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the King’s attention. The sincere friendship, and parity of interests, of Great Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights.

‘ The King commands me, therefore, to recall to your High Mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High Mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest.

‘ In the treaty between your High Mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht on the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: “ It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city, of the said Netherlands, or of those which

An. 1757. are given up by his Catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most Christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France."

' In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: " His Imperial and Catholic majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country, shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the States General."

' A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your High Mightinesses: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties,

ties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your High Mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands. An. 1757.

‘ The King hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your High Mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce.’

It does not appear, that this remonstrance had the desired effect upon the States General, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

The king of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniences of war, and that he ran the risque of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to his continental

His Prussian majesty's letter to the king of Great Britain, and the declaration of his Britannic majesty.

An. 1757. mental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian majesty is said to have written an expostulatory † letter to the k--- of G---- B-----, in which he very plainly taxes that m--- with having instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the k--- of E---d's battles, a notion was generally conceived, that those two powers had agreed to certain private pacts, or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the king of Great Britain declared, That the overtures made by his majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent,

† The letter, which was written in French, we have translated for the reader's satisfaction.

“ I am informed, that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of H---r is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your m---y can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your m---y will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfor-

tunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your m---y; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the forces of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.”

should

should have no influence on his majesty as king: An. 1757: that he saw, in the same light as before, the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers: that he considered, as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connection, the cession made by the court of Vienna of the parts in the Netherlands to France, in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that, whatever might be the success of his arms, his majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the king of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with assuring the king of Prussia, that the British crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could securely depend not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which, like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events, without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprize, at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which
the

An. 1757. the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connections.

Disputes
concern-
ing the
conven-
tion of
Closter-
seven.

His B—— m—— was resolved, that the king of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause. Those stipulations also met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army, in their retreat before the enemy, were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This event, so singular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth, and animosity of altercation. The g——l complained, that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of H——; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough; from whence he may be one day recalled to the dictatorship in war, when his country requires the exertion of his extraordinary talents.

The convention of Closter-seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles. The former saw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his most Christian majesty: while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the king of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They therefore determined, either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill-usage to an infraction of the treaty, or, should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used without reserve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition, that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit

An. 1757.

Disapproved both by the courts of London and Versailles.

An. 1757. rit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negotiation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose: but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions. At least, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterballance any advantage that Great Britain might obtain in other parts of the world.

The elector of H——r's motives for taking up arms.

His Britannic majesty was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He therefore, in quality of elector of Brunswic-Lunenbourg, published a declaration, observing, That his royal highness the duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the duke de Richelieu demanded, that the troops should enter into the engagement specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed: that the French court pretended to treat of the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more: but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negotiation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French general

ral would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed; and what was at first an agreement between general and general, was now become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles: that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced in them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army, and his dominions; and, by the most outrageous conduct, freed his Britannic majesty from every obligation, under which he had been laid by the convention: that in the midst of the armistice, the most open hostilities had been committed: the castle of Schartzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war: the prisoners made by the French before the convention, had not been restored according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners: the bailies of those districts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue: the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn, belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place

An. 1757. place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation.

Such were the considerations that determined his Britannic majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination, that he conferred the command of his electoral army on prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, warmly attached to his Britannic majesty.

The duke
de Riche-
lieu ex-
postulates
with
prince
Ferdinand
of Brun-
wic.

The duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to prince Ferdinand, specifying, that although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality, which had been established between the duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general: that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended

An. 1757.

to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable : that the king his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood : with that view the duke declared to his serene highness, in the name of his most Christian majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army ; but he could not help apprising his serene highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorized so to do by the rules of war : that he would set fire to all the palaces, houses, and gardens ; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his serene highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation. To this letter, which was seconded by the count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who had mediated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, intimating, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his answer in person, at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present ani-

An. 1757. mated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they themselves had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

Progress
of the Ha-
noverian
army.

About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorf, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenburg, Zell, and part of the Brunswic dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer, who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his

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advanced

advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep-walks of his Britannic majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by prince Ferdinand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the Orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops have, on divers occasions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines and retired into the town, where they were so strongly intrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he therefore retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed several small enterprizes by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought by the out-parties, with various success.

The Hanoverian minister dismissed from Vienna.

Their Imperial majesties were no sooner apprized of these transactions, which they considered as in-

An. 1757. fractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister to the king of Great-Britain as elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again, was, in some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburg, that the Czarina had signed her accession, in form, to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, and Stockholm. In closing our account of this year's transactions on the Continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth day of November, the queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broke by grief and anxiety conceived from the distress of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The States-General proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course, between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the king of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention, settled between him





BRIGADIER GEN^L MONCKTON.

him and the belligerent powers, importing, that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandize which were deemed contraband by all nations. An. 1757

The operations at sea, during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadalupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and about the same time the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation, to distinguish themselves in the service of their country; and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the

Transactions at sea.

An. 1757. former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

Fate of
captain.
Death.
Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage, than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the *Terrible*, under the command of captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged, and made prize of a large French ship from *St Domingo*, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the *Vengeance*, a privateer of *St. Malo*, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily retaken; then the two ships bore down upon the *Terrible*, whose main-mast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the *Terrible* maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two-thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen

teen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible into St. Malo, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's * widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement. In this, and every sea-rencounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution, was ascertained to the British mariners: for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy, as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his ship, in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the Countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded,

* There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer, the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock,

commanded by captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for his surgeon.

An. 1757. that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigat'd without molestation.

His majesty's speech at the opening of the session of parliament.

On the first day of December the king of Great Britain opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expence of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His majesty graciously declared, That it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them, at the opening of the session, that his success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which, he trusted, might be retrieved by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his majesty's honour and the advantage of their country. He said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He signified, that another great object, which he had at heart, was the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he assured them, he would decline no inconveniences; and, in this cause, he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance.

ance. He observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the king of Prussia might be supported in such a manner, as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the commons he expressed his concern, that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service; and told them they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful oeconomy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shewn itself among the common people, in some parts of the kingdom: he laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves.

The time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the house of commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures,

An. 1757.

Remarks
on that
harangue.

An. 1757. fures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service. They would have inquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the Empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany; and hinted, that it would only serve to protract the burden of a continental war. They would have owned, that the eyes of all Europe were upon them; and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution, in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents: a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss, without the least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the œconomy to be used in managing the national expence: finally, they would have represented the impossibility of
union

union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the—n was adored as the oracle of a divinity; and those happy days were now approaching, that saw the commons of England pour their treasures, in support of a German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

An. 1758.

To the speech of his majesty the house of lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour; and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued.

Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the house, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines; and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order

Supplies granted by the commons.

Apr. 1758. der to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the commons, they now allotted four millions twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seven pounds seven shillings and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-one pounds five shillings and eight pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds seventeen shillings and eleven pence: towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds: for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hun-

hundred and sixty pounds nineteen shillings and ten pence three farthings. To the foundling hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy; and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds four shillings and nine pence one farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy. They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckenbourg, together with that of general and staff-officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds six shillings and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-six thousand nine hundred

and

An. 1758. and fifteen pounds thirteen shillings and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and losses whatsoever incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand four hundred fifty-four pounds fifteen shillings and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia: for reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, the sum of forty-one thousand one hundred seventeen pounds seventeen shillings and six pence half-penny: to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish-church of St. Margaret in Westminster, they

allotted twenty-nine thousand pounds. The East-India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements : the sum of ten thousand pounds was given as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa ; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty, were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds, for defraying the charge of pay and cloathing to the militia ; and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred for the service of the current year ; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint, or defeat, any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten millions, four hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fifty seven pounds and one penny.

Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favour of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously payed for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million, eight hundred sixty-one thousand, eight hundred ninety-seven pounds, four shillings

Observations on these grants.

AN. 1758. lings and eight-pence, expressly assigned for the support of these continental connexions, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of the second Charles, and what part of the sum granted to the king for extraordinary expences, might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expence incurred by expeditions to the coast of France, the chief, if not sole design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country, as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English. Indeed, the partisans of the m——y were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money, annually ingulphed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not

a single cruiser would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West-Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realize those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the exchequer produced from the sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security*; one million

An. 1758.

Funds for raising the supplies.

* It was enacted, That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds, should be intitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of

three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth day of July in the present year, which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years,

An. 1758. lion six hundred and six thousand and seventy-six pounds, five shillings, one penny one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should, or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund; a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds; an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April; an additional tax of six-pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain, which shall contain fifteen

years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds percent. on such sums as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose: that the several sums so received by the cashiers, should be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to

time to such services as should then have been voted by the house of commons in this session of parliament, and not otherwise: that any subscriber paying the whole, or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times, on which such payments were directed to be made; and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery, should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great Britain; the exportation of British gunpowder; the securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations, to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expence; an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of six-pence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined; a cessation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of silver plate; a law prohibiting all persons from selling by retail, any sweets or made wines, without first having procured a licence for that purpose; and a loan, by exchequer-bills, for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, six shillings and ten-pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds, six shillings and nine-pence; so that the nation had reason to hope, that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of an h—se of c——, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt

An. 1758. was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions three hundred sixty-seven thousand two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings and ten-pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in christendom.

Message
from the
k— to the
house of
commons.

The liberality of the p——t was like the rock in the wildernds, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army, was, in pursuance of a message from his majesty, communicated to the house by Mr. secretary Pitt, importing, That the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again into motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate, having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be laid before the house, the king relying on the constant zeal of his faithful commons, for the support of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the house the speedy consideration of such a present supply, as might enable his majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recired by this speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified

gratified his majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason.

This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars, properly authenticated. In that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States General of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the protestant religion, would surely have lent an helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealously maintained the purity of the protestant faith, would now join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion.

An. 1758. gion. It is not credible, that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other protestant states of the Empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandizement of the catholic faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any protestant state or society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude, that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame: nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general luke-warmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity.

The signal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the king, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving

leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of king William, when the act of settlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should subsist *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a stretch of complaisance, which, how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

So fully persuaded were the m—y that the commons would chearfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty or convention with his Prussian majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy counsellors who had any share in the administration *. This treaty, which was signed

An. 1758.
Confidence reposed in his m—y, with respect to the salaries of the judges.

Second treaty or convention with the king of Prussia.

at

* These were, Sir Robert Henley, lord keeper of the great seal; John earl Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert earl of Hol-

derness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esq; another of the principal secretaries of state. In the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the Sieurs

An. 1758. at Westminster, imported, That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious: and their majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorized their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations. The king of Great Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such person as should be authorized to receive it by his Prussian majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be payed at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian majesty. This prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence, and mutual security, proposed by their said majesties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality,

Dado Henry, baron of Knyp-
hausen, his privy counsellor of
ambassy, and minister plenipo-

tentiary at the court of Lon-
don; and Lewis Michel, his
resident, and chargé d'affaires.

nor

nor any other sort of convention or agreement, An. 1758. with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated, that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible.

At this juncture, in all probability, the m——y of England imagined, that the war might be terminated in one campaign, by a vigorous exertion of the united powers of the contracting parties, whose hands were strengthened accordingly; but these sanguine hopes were not accomplished: the war continued to rage, and Great Britain to redouble her efforts on the continent; and, should she adhere to the letter of this treaty, the war may be protracted in Germany until the people of England shall be tired of giving subsidies for its support.

All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed, were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly ingrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The commons having presented an address to his majesty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying

Bill in favour of Milford-haven.

An. 1758. that harbour was laid before the house, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion, that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design: that if proper use were made of this valuable though long neglected harbour, the distressful delays, too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of an harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence, that a bill was framed and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, in the county of Pembroke.

Other laws of national consequence were enacted, in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the commons received a petition of the mayor,

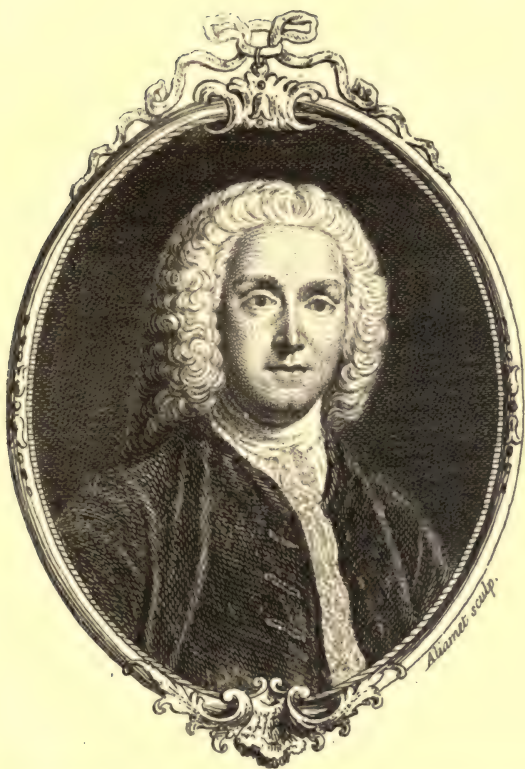
magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the house, a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain, while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn, as to them should seem necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable dispatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits; and for allowing the importation of corn duty free. A second law was established, regulating the price and affize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions, taken in a committee of the whole house, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign

An. 1752.
Regulations with respect to corn.

An. 1758. reign of William and Mary: but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive. Certain it is, that as the preservation and extension of manufactures depend in a great measure upon the moderate price of bread, which enables the labourer to work for low wages, and his master to sell his commodity as cheap as it can be afforded by the merchants and manufacturers of other countries, it is a flagrant absurdity to grant a bounty on the exportation of corn, when the price is not as low at home as abroad; but it is still more absurd to grant such a large bounty as may enable the exporter to sell it for a smaller price to foreigners, and rivals in commerce, than the British manufacturer is obliged to pay for it at home: and this will always be the case, when the bounty exceeds the charge and risque of exportation.

Bill for
the encouragement
of sea-
men.

In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Greenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the lower house, engaged, in a very particular manner, the attention of the lords, who, by divers messages to the house of commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited; a debate arose about their formality, and the house unanimously resolved, that a message should



The Right Hon.^{ble} GEORGE GRENVILLE.



should be sent to the lords, acquainting them, that the house of commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordships desired the house would give leave to such of their members, as were named in the said messages, to attend the house of lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill; the commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the house of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea-affairs, touching the inconveniences which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed; and the bill having passed through their house, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law, by his majesty's assent. How defective and imperfect soever this act may appear to those, who have accurately and maturely considered the subject, it certainly flowed from a principle of justice and humanity; and the salutary effects of it soon appeared, in considerable sums of money which even the common seamen remitted to their poor families, in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

The militia-act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed,

An. 1758.

Act for explaining the militia-act.

An. 1758. lowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it does not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which are of an alarming nature. The power vested by law in the crown, over the militia, is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army: for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister.

Silk-bill
protract-
ed.

Several merchants, and manufacturers of silk, offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk thro' Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which, in the common course of things, might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from unlucky accidents on shore,
and

and storms and contrary winds, after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act ; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated : they, therefore, prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organzine silk, as should appear to have been shipped in Holland and Ham-
burgh for London, on or before the first day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the house complied with their request, and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary.

A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance ; and, in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual †.

Divers temporary laws perpetuated or continued.

The

† Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise. A clause in an act of the 6th of

George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river ; and another clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hopbinds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for punishing persons setting
on

An. 1758.

Bill for the
repairing
of London
Bridge,

The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the house of commons, alledging, that the toll upon loaded vessels, or other craft, passing through the arches of London-Bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the

on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of the 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit-courts. Those continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c. until the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, and to the end of the next session of parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the same period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c. for the same period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clause

for preventing the stealing or destroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon British-made gunpowder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. encouraging the trade of the sugar colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And, VIII. so much of the act of the 15th and 16th of George II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, presented another petition, alledging, that in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-Bridge, and directed the rest that were standing, to be taken down with all convenient expedition; that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge to preserve a public passage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finished, which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a further considerable expence; that the sum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-Bridge, was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they therefore prayed the house to take the premises into consideration.

Numb. 15. O

An. 1758. ration. This petition being recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the house, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-Bridge. A bill was prepared under the title of, An act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-Bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthenfome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-Bridge; and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alledged, that the surveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood: that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be
sufficient

sufficient to maintain it without any toll ; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle horses. This remonstrance made such an impression on the house, that several amendments were made to the bill, and an express clause added, that none of the tolls imposed by the act of the twenty-ninth year of his present majesty, should be exacted after next Midsummer. Thus altered and amended, it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. An. 1758.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the commons, was a bill for allowing the importation of Irish tallow, suggested by a petition of several tallow-chandlers of London and Westminster, who represented that the scarcity of British tallow, occasioned by a distemper among the horned cattle, the rot among the sheep, and the increased consumption of this commodity in the manufactory of hard soap, had raised the price of it so high as to make candles extremely dear: that the consequence of this dearth was, in the first instance, severely felt by the poor, very discouraging to every branch of trade and manufacture, and, by inducing great numbers to use oil instead of candles, would ultimately prove detrimental to his majesty's revenue, and injurious to the landed interest ; they therefore submitted to the house, whether the free admission of Irish tallow, the duty on which amounted almost to a prohibition, would not, in all likelihood, reduce the present exorbitant price of candles, prevent monopolies in such an essential

For the importation of Irish tallow.

An. 1758. article of the necessaries of life, and at the same time secure the duties upon candles to the crown, with ease and advantage to the subject. The committee appointed to take this petition into consideration, reported their opinion, that the duties then payable on tallow imported from Ireland, should cease for a limited time. On this resolution a bill was founded, and approved by a petition of the merchants, tradesmen, and tallow-chandlers of Liverpool and parts adjacent. But another, couched in a very different strain, was presented by certain proprietors of lands, landholders, salesmen, and graziers of Buckinghamshire, alledging, that they had sustained great losses by the contagious distemper which raged a long time among their cattle, for which the advanced price of provisions had by no means been an adequate satisfaction: that as the distemper among the horned cattle had now entirely ceased, and the rot among the sheep was greatly abated, the petitioners were thoroughly convinced, from the daily decrease of the price of tallow, that the markets would be sufficiently supplied without any importation: that should the bill pass into a law, the natives of Ireland would be enabled to undersell the English in their tallow, as they payed no land-tax, and held their farms at easy rates; consequently the rents in England must be proportionably abated; a circumstance that would affect the landed interest, and be detrimental to the revenue. On the other hand, petitions in favour of the bill were brought up from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Tavistock, Norwich and Canterbury, Coventry and Sudbury, some of the principal trading towns of England. The
bill

bill being discussed in a committee of the whole house, passed without much further opposition, and was carried to the upper house, from whence it never returned. This miscarriage was the more extraordinary, as it appeared from authentic accounts left on the table in the house of commons, for the perusal of the members, that the reduction of the price of tallow would occasion a very considerable saving in the expence of the navy, especially in time of war, and also prove advantageous to navigation in general, as considerable quantities of tallow are used in building and repairing the ships and vessels belonging to the merchants: the truth is, all schemes of national advantage, that interfere with the private lucre of individuals, will ever be opposed by such as are actuated by a narrow sordid spirit of self-interest.

On the same coast another bill was wrecked, intended to permit the free importation of cattle from Ireland, for a time to be limited. A committee of the whole house of commons, after having deliberated upon the laws which prohibit the importation of cattle from Ireland, the duties upon skins and hides imported into Great Britain, and perused a variety of accounts relating to this subject, resolved, that there should be a free importation of cattle from Ireland into Great Britain, for a limited time; and the bill was prepared in pursuance of this resolution. At the same time another was brought in for suspending, for a limited time, the duties payable on the importation of raw hides and calves skins from Ireland. These bills were supported by petitions from the merchants of Liverpool, Barnstaple, Minehead, Chester, New-

Steps taken with respect to the importation of Irish cattle.

An. 1758. castle-upon-Tyne, Glasgou, Edinburgh, Bristol, Haverfordwest, as well as by the tanners of the county of Salop, and of the town and county of Gloucester. Some of these represented, that the free importation of live cattle from Ireland would supply the pastures of England, so greatly thinned by the distemper; the price of tallow would be lowered; the estates much better able to bear and pay the taxes; the kingdom enabled to supply the navy with beef on reasonable terms; while the wicked practice of supplying the enemy with provision, and smuggling soap and candles from Ireland, would be in a great measure prevented. In opposition to all these remonstrances, there was but one solitary petition against the cattle bill, from the sheriff and grand jury, gentlemen, proprietors of land, landholders, and breeders of cattle, assembled at the great sessions holden for the county of Pembroke, alledging, that the free importation of cattle from Ireland would be attended with very affecting consequences to the general landed interest of the kingdom; and expressing their hope that, as the nation was engaged in an expensive war, towards the support of which the landed interest bore so great a proportion, the present juncture would not be thought a proper time to weaken that interest, by passing a bill of so fatal a tendency, the evils of which were so sensibly felt in a former reign, that no fewer than four very severe laws were passed for their prevention. Though this remonstrance produced no effect in the house of commons, it seems to have had some weight with the lords, among whom the bill was dropped.

The

The other house perceiving the disposition of their lordships, desisted from proceeding on the bill for discontinuing the duties payable on the importation of raw hides from Ireland, though no objection had been started against it from any part of the kingdom. Nevertheless, intent upon taking some measure of this kind for the relief of the poor, and the benefit of commerce, they examined the accounts, specifying the prices which had, for a series of years, been payed, in victualling the navy ; and prepared a bill, permitting for a limited time, the importation of salted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland. This, after having excited warm debates, and undergone divers amendments, made its progress through both houses to the throne, where it obtained the royal sanction ; and surely no law could be more just, seasonable, or better calculated for the interest of the kingdom in general : it must naturally have put a stop to the pernicious practice of supplying the enemies of the nation with the means of life ; and likewise prevented such an exorbitant increase in the price of provisions through the united kingdom of Great Britain, as might have proved fatal to those manufactures, on which the national wealth and commerce principally depend *.

An. 1758.

Bill for the importation of beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland.

The

* The parliament and nation, about this period, exhibited a remarkable proof of their profound regard to his Prussian majesty. That prince had a few years ago established an East-India company at Embden, which at that time the

British nation looked upon with such jealous eyes, that chiefly with a view to discourage this new institution, an act was passed, restraining the practice of making insurances on foreign ships, bound to or from the East-Indies ; an act that

An. 1758.

Act for
encourag-
ing the
growth of
madder.

The interest of the manufactures was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing callicoës, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity, would be to ascertain the tythe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tythe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary, it is not easy to determine.

Clause re-
lating to
the settle-
ment of
servants.

The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, intituled, An act for the better adjusting and more easy recovery of the wages of

favoured more of national pique than a genuine zeal for the true interest of Great Britain. At that time the k— of P— was connected with France, and his character appeared in no favourable light to the subjects of Great Britain in general: but now the nation had taken him into its bosom as an ally, he was metamorphosed into a hero: his interest and that of England became common and reciprocal; and the prospect of rivalry and competition between the two East-India companies, vanished like a morning dream.

Embsen being at this juncture in the hands of the enemy, a Prussian ship, returned from China, found protection in the port of Plymouth: the East-India company of England offered to purchase the cargo; but as this sale would have been expressly contrary to an act of parliament, they found interest sufficient to procure a bill repealing that act, which accordingly passed into a law without opposition; and the cargo of the Prussian ship found a good market in a port of Great Britain.

certain

certain servants, and of certain apprentices. No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor, as those that are daily accumulating in England: in no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private charity, as well as public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the l———re, or of shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration.

The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance, which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced, were now grown so infamously open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by these apprehensions, Sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition, by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire, to serve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, the lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law under the title of, "An act for further explaining the laws touching the elec-

Act ascer-
taining
the quali-
fication of
voting.

An. 1758. tors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great Britain called England." The preamble specified, That though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire, within England and Wales, without having a freehold-estate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, presumed to vote at such elections: this act therefore ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth day of June, in the present year, no person, who holds his estate by copy of court-roll, should be intitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature *. So far the act, thus procured, may

* For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alleging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had

acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that

may be attended with salutary consequences : but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered ; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licence, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people. An. 1758.

Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the house to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting of his majesty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session under the same title ; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen ; obliging shipmasters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at

Bill for the more effectually manning his majesty's navy.

that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed ; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action,

or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

offices,

An. 1758. offices, maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his majesty's service, in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected as an unnecessary and ineffectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived.

Motion
for a law
to esta-
blish pub-
lic regis-
ters.

Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant lawsuits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manours, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates were incumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage, under which they laboured, would be exactly known.

Bill re-
lating to
fishmon-
gers.

The next object to which the house converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fishmongers, who imposed

exor-

exorbitant prices on their fish, and, in this particular branch of traffick, gave law to above six hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition. Inquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length the bill, having passed through the lower house, was conveyed to the lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

An. 1758.

The occasion that produced the next bill, which miscarried, we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his majesty's land-forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commissioners, thereby appointed, were vested with a power of judging ultimately whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty: for, according to the writ of habeas corpus, passed in the reign of the second Charles, this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal, or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Be-

Proceed-
ings on
the act of
habeas
corpus.

An. 1758. fore the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy remedy to the subject, upon the writ of habeas corpus, was prepared, and presented to the house of commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It imported, that the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas corpus, in cases of commitment, or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatsoever: that, upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter; an habeas corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons before whom the party so confined or

re-

restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation. The commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity: but in the house of lords such a great number of objections was started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that house in the next session.

His majesty having recommended the care of the foundling-hospital to the house of commons, which cheerfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expence of it appeared worthy of further consideration; and leave was granted to bring in a bill for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but, before the house could take the report into consideration, the parliament

Scheme in
favour of
the found-
ling-hos-
pital.

An. 1758. was prorogued. The nation was no great loser by this miscarriage; for the scheme of the bill was to lay a very grievous imposition, extending even to the remotest county, as well as to the lowest of the people, in favour of a partial charity, which, in all appearance, will overshoot the purpose for which it was established, promote idleness and profligacy, discourage matrimony, and prove an enormous burthen on the commonwealth.

Petition
of the
owners of
the Anti-
gallican
privateer.

The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice; representing the great expence at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the house should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power; the house, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alledged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of
Corun-

Corunna, infomuch that the ſhot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged ſome houſes: but this allegation was never properly ſuſtained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

An. 1758.

As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unneceſſary to recapitulate any circumſtance of that affair, except ſuch as relate to its connexion with the proceedings of parliament. In the beginning of this ſeſſion the lord Barrington, as ſecretary at war, informed the houſe, by his majeſty's command, that lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that houſe, was in arreſt, for diſobedience of his majeſty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coaſt of France. The commons immediately reſolved, That an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, returning him the thanks of this houſe for his gracious meſſage of that day, in the communication he had been pleaſed to make of the reaſon for putting lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt in arreſt.

Addreſs
of the
commons
on the
ſubject of
Sir John
Mor-
daunt.

Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the houſe, one of the moſt conſiderable was the trade to the coaſt of Africa, for the protection of which an annual ſum had been granted for ſome years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of caſtles and factories. While a committee was employed in peruſing the accounts relating to the ſum granted in the preceding ſeſſion for this purpoſe, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a meſſage from his majeſty, was preſented to the houſe, ſoliciting further aſſiſtance

Petition
relating
to the
African
company.

An. 1758. for the ensuing year. In the mean time a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in and trading to the British sugar-colonies in America, alledging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced, since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was of great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar-colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave-trade to Africa: that, by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast: they therefore prayed, that this part of the act might be repealed: that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might, at any time thereafter, settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods
and

and merchandize in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves, or other purchases, without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charges of their respective owners. The house having taken this petition into consideration, inquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them; and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. Without all doubt, the committee had executed their trust with fidelity in expending the sum granted by parliament: but every person, acquainted with the great importance of the African trade, will reflect with astonishment, that although the forts and settlements, upon which that commerce intirely depends, cannot possibly be maintained in a posture of defence for the annual sum granted by parliament, and therefore are altogether untenable; and it is plain, to demonstration, that the addition of five thousand pounds to the yearly allowance, would render it sufficient for the support of the castles, and the security of the traders; the whole commerce to the coast of Guinea, so beneficial to the British manufactures, and so essential to the very being of the sugar-plantations in the West Indies, hath been, for a series of years, exposed to the most imminent danger of total ruin, by withholding such a poultry sum; while millions are lavished away, without remorse, upon schemes of unavailing conquest, and objects that have scarce the slightest

An. 1758. connexion with the interests of Great Britain. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made upon the principal British fort in Guinea would have succeeded, and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition†.

Endea-
vours used
to con-
tract the
duration
of parlia-
ments.

The longest and warmest debate which was maintained in the course of this session, arose from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future parliaments: a measure truly patriotical, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that, whilst the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing such an alteration in the form

† Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the house, that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he therefore offered to undertake the making of marine-salt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risque and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for such a term of years as might seem to the house a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was or-

dered to lie upon the table; afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which however made no report.—A circumstance not easily accounted for, unless we suppose the house of commons were of opinion, that such an enterprize might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miscarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing ale-houses, which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of C———n and V———. The alteration proposed, was nothing else than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the constitution : it might have been effected without the least pang or convulsion, to the general satisfaction of the nation : far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and parliament, who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed a quick succession of parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generosity, which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the f———'s predilection for the interest of H———.

Other committees were established to inquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar ; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England ; consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar ; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions ; but no further progress was made in this inquiry, except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix : however, as the boxes containing the stan-

Inquiry
about
weights
and mea-
sures.

An. 1758. dards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the house, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session.

Session
closed.

On the ninth day of June sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, his majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth day of the same month, the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both houses, expressing his majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection, demonstrated in their late proceedings; in their zeal for his honour and real interest in all parts; in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty; in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour: proofs which must convince mankind, that the antient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand, that the king had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and wishes: that with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Prussia, by new engagements; that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions, as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real

real strength and importance of Great Britain. An. 1758
The commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given ; and assured on the part of his majesty, that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were desired, in consequence of the king's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects ; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures ; and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity, as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government-loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprize and resolution, seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy ; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace : such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and

Vigorous preparations for war.

An. 1758. example of an intelligent and intrepid m——r, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief, that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military c———rs, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one general in North America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble c———r had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper: he observed that with a force by land and sea, greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the c———r in America was founded on mistake: the inactivity of that noble l—d. was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own

own inclination. He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the public; but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted thro' a canal, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was not altogether excusable for having corresponded so slightly with the secretary of state; but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who, in that case, would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army.

All sorts of military preparations in founderies, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and dispatch, as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majesty's third daughter the princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence.

Death of the princess Caroline.

The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and

Success of the British cruisers.

An. 1758. and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes was taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government's service: falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her bolt-sprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fir-ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken; and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English.

Sea en-
gagement
off Cape-
Francois
in the
West-Indies.

Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruize off Cape-Francois; and this service he literally performed, in the face of a French squadron lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. The commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out



CAPTAIN ARTHUR FORREST.



of these seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some storeships, mounted with guns and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared he weighed anchor and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen (said he) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost: return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example

was

An. 1758. was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, that were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica; and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe.

Attempt
of M. de
Kerfin on
Cape-
coast-cas-
tle, on the
coast of
Africa.

This gentleman, whose name was Kerfin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships: but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape-coast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kerfin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto soldiers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that, in the opinion of the best engineers, they could not have sustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained. In these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence: but

but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion. He forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some spare cannon upon an occasional battery; and assembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken when the French squadron appeared, and in a little time their attack began: but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West Indies; very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favour of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience. M. de Kerfin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt: but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast-castle, by the vigorous and resolute exertion of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement; a loss which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of the Negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on the Gold Coast,

An. 1758. Coast, would have revolted from the British interest: for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Anamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to windward of Cape-coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the Blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprize of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependants with a present of refreshments for their commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment Mr. de Kerfin on his victory at Cape-coast; and, with this view, prepared an embassy or deputation to go thither by land; but, understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the least hesitation, and dispatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

Remark-
able suc-
cess of
captain
Forrest.

The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape Francois, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port au Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind
the

the small island of Gonave. After Mr. de Kerfin An. 1752 had taken his departure from Cape Francois for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port au Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This however was declined, and captain Forrest directed to cruize off the island Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, tho' he perceived two sloops, he forebore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery: for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave: coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the

the

An. 1758. the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five and thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck their colours. These, being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore: the Brilliant also submitted; and the Mars made sail in hope of escaping; but the Augusta coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction for the the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

Admiral
Boscawen
sails for
North
America.

The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, run aground and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved.

In

In the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the same time the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garrison, amounting to three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation; and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore armed for that purpose.

An. 1758.
Commo-
dore
Holmes
compels
the French
to evacu-
ate Emb-
den.

It was in the same month that the admiralty received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagená on the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, the Orphée of sixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagená. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body

Success of
admiral
Osborne.

An. 1758. of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagena to watch the motions of the French Squadron which there lay at anchor. About seven in the evening the *Orphée*, having on board five hundred men, struck to captain Storr in the *Revenge*, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships *Berwick* and *Preston*. The *Monmouth* of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with fourscore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life : nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant Mr. Carkett, and the *Foudroyant* disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck as soon as the other English ships, the *Swiftsure* and the *Hampton-court*, appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The *Oriflamme* was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships *Montague* and *Monarque*, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the *Pleiade* frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer.

French
fleet driven
on
shore in
the road of
Basque.

This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain ; and the disaster was close followed by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility
of

of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered off the isle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provision, intended as a supply for their settlements in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped to sea, but the greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued ; and next morning they appeared aground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy ; but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered this scheme impracticable. In the mean time the French threw overboard their cannon, stores, and ballast ; and boats and launches from Rochefort, were employed in carrying out warps to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be waterborne by the flowing tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports escaped into the river Charente ; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had

An. 1758. chaced into the harbour of St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fireships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was over-balanced by the loss of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fireship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously covered with wounds, exhorting the people with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

The Raifonable taken by the Dorsetshire.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the Raifonable, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by captain Dennis in the Dorsetshire of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging.

Admiral Broderick's ship burnt at sea.

These successes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that befel the ship Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, be-

tween one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore-part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water-edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it overset. The admiral foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his cloaths, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the sloop Alderney. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoke: nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of frenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful by plunging into the sea; and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belong-

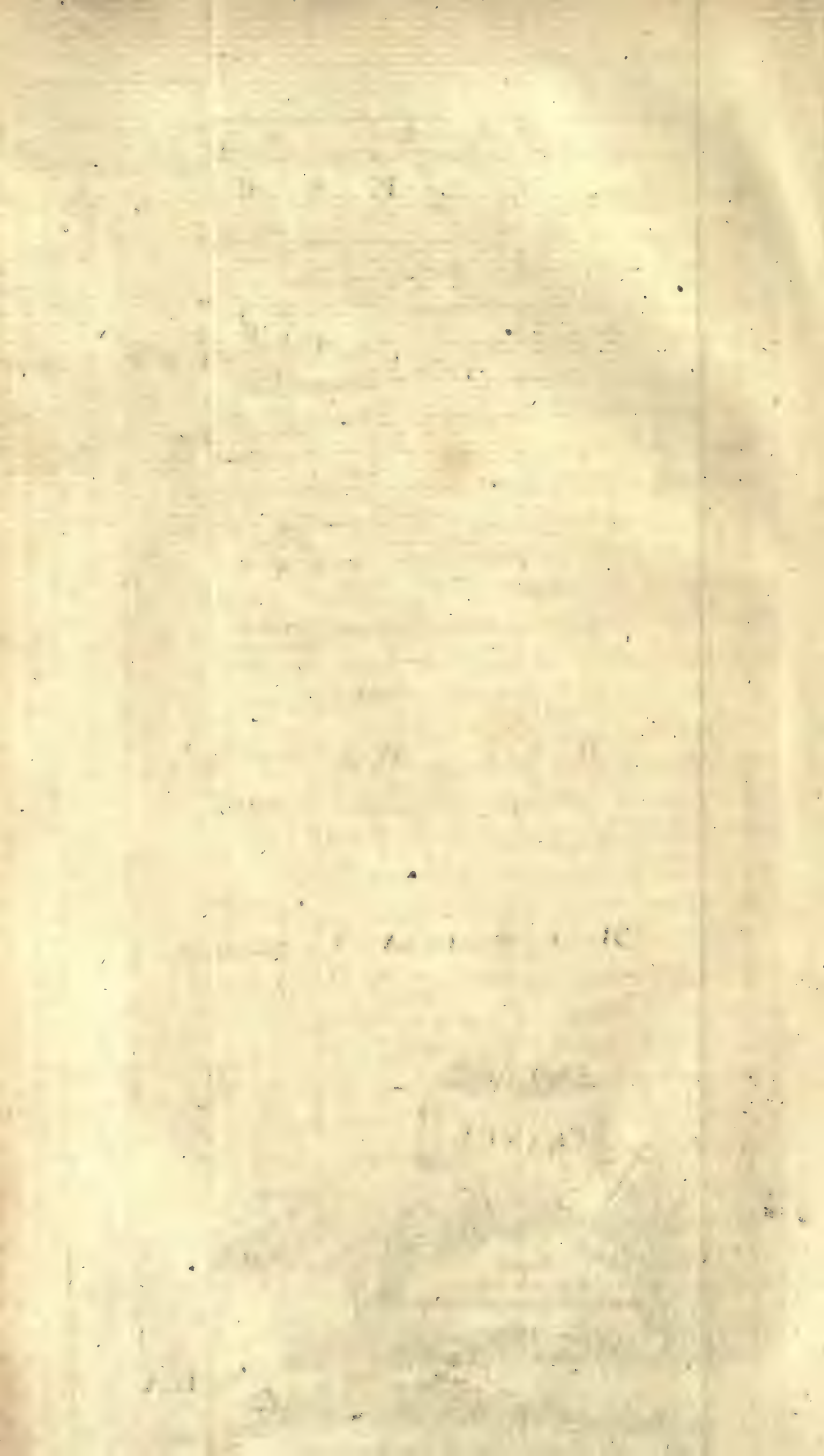
An. 1758. ing to some ships that accompanied the admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

Arma-
ment a-
gainst the
coast of
France.

The king of Great Britain, being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the services of this expedition: the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke: the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fireships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten storeships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion, he was assisted by the counsels of lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops, having for some time been encamped upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the lat-



MEDITERRANEAN SEA



ter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest. An. 1758.

The two fleets parted at sea: lord Anson with his Squadron proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harrafs their navigation; while commodore Howe with the land-forces steered directly towards St. Malo, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the purposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of any attempt by sea, with any prospect of success; and therefore it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancale, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Malo; and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery, which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed, without farther opposition, on the sixth day of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire, and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace, having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling

A descent at Cancale; and the reimparkation of the troops.

An. 1758.sembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancele; where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the reembarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand, that his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannic majesty: that all who were willing to remain in peaceable possession of their effects, might stay unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations: that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own king, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army: and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be payed in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magistracy of St. Malo he likewise sent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations,

tions, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed, that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Malo, he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Malo did not think proper to comply with his injunction.

But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but those offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof of the general's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Malo, he ordered one small storehouse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district.

The British forces being reimbarcked, including about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancele for several days; during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers: but, in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in

Aug. 1758. in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre de Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats, provided for landing, were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were reshipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries; and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms, to dispute the landing: nevertheless the general resolved that the forts Querqueville, L'homme, and Gallet, should be attacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprize, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty; nor properly sustained, in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt therefore was laid aside; but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul

foul of each other; and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore; for the gale blew directly upon the coast: besides, the provision began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, the tempest abated, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's.

An. 1758.

The fleet returns to St. Helen's.

Such was the issue of an enterprize atchieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion: but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

Remarks on the expedition.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this

Another planned.

British

An. 1758. British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness prince Edward, afterwards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service.

The British troops land at Cherbourg.

The remainder of the troops being reimbarcked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage, from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecoeurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniform; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risque was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation; while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance





EDWARD Duke of YORK.

of mischief. While these ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and, landing without opposition, instantly formed on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breastwork in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piquered with the advanced posts of the English.

In the mean time the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning the general having received intelligence, that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that Fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy.

The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecoeurdeville, Hommet, and la Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition.

Take possession of the town, and destroy the harbour.

The

An. 1758. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out

towards

towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and bason of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships; a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town; and a plan of reimbarcation concerted, as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already encreased to a formidable number. A slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be reimbarcated, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and reimbarcated at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the southward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the same riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet, with some difficulty, kept the sea, and steering to the

Another
landing to
the west-
ward of
St. Malo.

An. 1758.

the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along-shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels : but St. Malo itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land-forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its basin extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land-batteries; and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries, as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channel : besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town ; and the basin was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Malo was dropped ; but the general being unwilling to reembark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

On

An. 1758.

The Eng-
lish troops
penetrate
into the
country.

On Friday the eighth of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening : next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they should not desist he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being payed to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions ; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for reimbarcation : for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation ; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might

Numb. 16.

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have

An. 1758. have annoyed the troops in reembarking : for this reason a proposal was made to the general, that the forces should be reembarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo ; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army favoured strong of blind security and rash presumption.

They re-
tire to the
bay of St.
Cas.

Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion ; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been reembarked without the least interruption : but instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach at St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board without distinction ; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged ; a punctilio of disposition, by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore to cover the reembarkation ; and a considerable number of sea-officers was stationed on the beach to superin-

tend the boats crews, and regulate the service; but notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers: had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened.

The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow-way on their left, with design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havock, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow-way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major general Dury. This officer seeing the French

A strong body of French advanced against them.

An. 1758. advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken, when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow-way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion: but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank could have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as, in all probability, they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation.

They cut
off the
rear guard
of the
English.

The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke, and in less than five minutes after the engagement began, they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in
among

among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havock was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill: the slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed: but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses.

War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and

Reflections on war in general.

An. 1758. compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turns to those whom the fate of war hath subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war, vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment, and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draught-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence.

And upon
such def-
cents in
particular.

If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on the war; and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports,

transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanness and the exterior ornaments of dress: they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and reimbarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a foldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give a loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased: they lose all sense of honour, and of shame: they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers:—in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonour, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion, will scarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expence of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French king to employ a considerable

An. 1758. number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great Britain, and secure its coast from invasion: but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expence, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it, will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat; that the severest discipline ought to be preserved, during all the operations of the campaign; that a general ought never to disembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view; that a reembarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to reflect upon the particulars of this last expedition, owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the g——, in remaining on shore after the design upon St. Malo was laid aside; in penetrating so far into the country, without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating by beat of drum his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the reembarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the duke

duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured, that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

The success of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion. The people of that nation began to stand in need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained, and the ministry of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage: they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions, and congratulated themselves upon their success in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude.

Exultation of the French people.

After

An. 1758.

After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In the month of November the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a shew of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a shot, surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.

Captures
from the
enemy.

Piracies
commit-
ted by the
English
private-
ers.

By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel,

vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domestics, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promised, in the Gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffick, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud
cla-

A great number of Dutch ships taken,

An. 1758. Clamour against the English, for having by these captures violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the Republic. Remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated in their turn with the deputies of the States General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, represented, that the king his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree, that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them, that his Britannic majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew, and maintain in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united. These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds and appease the resentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both

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numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation : while, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had sustained, from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect. Such was the memorial delivered by the count D'Affry, intimating that the Empress queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport; and applied to the French king, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her Imperial majesty think proper.

The spirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States General, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their High Mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the

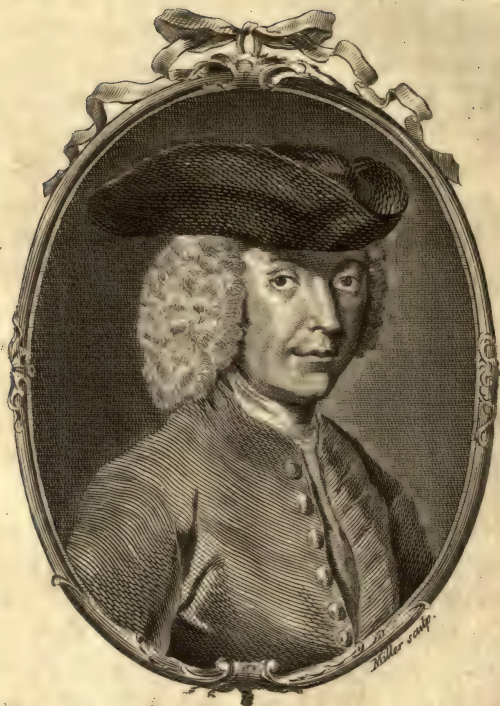
Famous
petition
to the
States.

An. 1758.

An. 1758. the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the Princess Gouvernante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France; against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing counsels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

Plan of an attempt against the French settlements on the coast of Africa.

The whole strength of Great Britain during this campaign, was not exhausted in petty descents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly



THOMAS CUMMING.

See Vol II. p. 271.

An. 1758.

wholly in the hands of the enemy; the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possessions of Great Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Porten-derick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir the Moorish king of Legibelli*. He found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans, and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the king of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case he promised to join his Britannic majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantage that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold dust, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo,

* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of The

Gum-Coast, and called in maps, The Sandy Desert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

An. 1758. ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his inquiries, touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination: but it required the patriotic zeal, and invincible perseverance of Mr. Cumming, to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship; and in lieu of six hundred land-forces to be draughted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the d— of C——, and afterwards from lord L———r, the lords of the ad———y allotted two hundred marines only for this service.

Expedition to Senegal.

After repeated solicitation he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guiney, should be joined by a sloop and two buffes, and make an attempt upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds, until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enter-

prize. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition*. This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island Teneriff, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language; which charter is still in his possession. This prince was now up the country engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable-Moors†; and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr.

*On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own

single act.—If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that was ever carried on, according to the pacific system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

† This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguishing those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

An. 1758. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal : but she assured him, that should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the mean time one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the king with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops; and that, in his opinion, the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army.

The English troops intrench on the bank of the river.

By this time captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the twenty-second day of April he weighed anchor; and next day at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road, at the mouth of the river; and here he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length the channel being

discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Millar, of the London bus, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the buxses and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers, and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After some hesitation captain Marsh and major Mason agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal, should be safely conducted to

The French governor of Fort Louis capitulates.

An. 1758. France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize, and uncoined treasure, should be delivered up to the victors ; and that all the forts, store-houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort Louis, should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion ; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country *. The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed ; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade ; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the

* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to

the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. An. 1758.

This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandize of a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation; and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, sent an ambassador from his camp to major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes settled at Senegal amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter situated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper ma-

The English forces take possession of Senegal.

An. 1758. nagement, she may derive in conceivable riches. This important acquisition being in a great measure, if not intirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns; those who preside at the helm of affairs, with such reputation for candour and liberality, will no doubt consider it as a point of conscience, not only to indemnify him for the time he has lost, and the trouble he has taken, but even amply reward him, in proportion to the benefit which the nation will reap from his service.

Unsuccessful attempt upon Goree.

Fort Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro-slaves until they could be shipped for the West Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced; and, in that case, the nation would have saved the considerable expence of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of commodore Keppel. At present the ships, by which Goree was attacked, were found unequal to the attempt, and it miscarried accordingly; though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about fifty thousand men, including two and twenty thousand regular troops. The earl of Loudon having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved to major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown Point, a fort situated on the lake Champlain: eight thousand, under the conduct of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis in Nova Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-general Amherst being joined by admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the second day of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and

An. 1758.
Expedition to
Cape Breton.

An. 1758. towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians. The harbour was secured by six * ships of the line, and five frigates, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked.

The
troops are
disem-
barked.

The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops, under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along-shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot;

* The Prudent, of seventy-four guns; the Entreprenant, of seventy-four guns; the Capricieux, Celebre, and Bien-

saisant, of sixty-four guns each; the Apollo, of fifty guns; the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Echo frigates.

and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time the other two divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a shew of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries, which did considerable execution, brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also; but not without an obstinate opposition: and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege; and Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French ship-

An. 1758. shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

Progress
of the
siege of
Louis-
bourg.

The governor of Louisbourg having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their work, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Lighthouse-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of June the *Eccho*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after having escaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ship the admiral learned that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation; and the *Comete* had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Celebre*, were set on fire by the bomb-shells, and burned to ashes; so that none remained but
the

the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, the boats of the Squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The *Prudent*, being aground, was set on fire, and destroyed; but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

An. 1758.

In the prosecution of the siege the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon, and other implements, with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken or destroyed, the * caserns ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same ar-

The governor capitulates.

* It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which admiral K—— had built at an enormous expence to the nation, while *Louisbourg* remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the course of this siege, entirely

demolished by two or three shot from one of the British batteries; so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

An. 1758. ticles that were granted to the English at Portmahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under admiral Boscawen. The chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the commissary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts.

Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed or wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms; but the garrison, together with the sea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England.

The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships
and

and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel dispatched for that purpose, with captain Amherst, brother to the commander; who was also intrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louisbourg: these were, by his majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot-guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

An. 1758.

Rejoicings in England.

After the reduction of Cape Breton, some ships were detached with a body of troops, under the command of lieut. col. lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulph of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had since the beginning of the war supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter, from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted, and brought in their arms: then lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters,

Reduction of St. John.

An. 1758. quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratify them with a certain premium for every scalp they produce. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

Expedition to Ticonderoga.

The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John, was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprise; with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquests of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the Lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's design was to invest Ticonderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with the Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass. The

An. 1758.

Skirmish.

The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression, or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss; a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The general perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it adviseable to march back to the landing-place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet, with one regular

An. 1758. gular regiment, six companies of the Royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned.

Unsuccessful attack on the French intrenchment.

This post being secured the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk * river; but upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments, and he reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion.

* This officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawk's river, but was recalled before he could execute this design. General Abercrombie

afterwards sent thither brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of Provincials; and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.

They advanced with great alacrity towards the intrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could, deliberately, direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The general, by this time, saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot, or desperately wounded.

Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with forces which had re-

General
Aber-
crombie
retreats.

An. 1758. ceived such a dispiriting check, retired to his bateaus, and reembarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander : his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. In such cases allowance must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamour of connection. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general, we shall not pretend to determine : but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear after the action, from the attempts of the enemy to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement : he might have therefore remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprize when he should be reinforced in his turn ; for general Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster, than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English.

In the mean time general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the
side

side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaus, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was inconsiderable and ill-contrived: nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandize and provision, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by Mr. de Levi, on his enterprize against the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandize, which it contained. In consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario,

An. 1758. and grievously harrassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany in New York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted, much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal: nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Laurence.

Brigadier
Forbes
takes possession of
Fort du
Quesne.

In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, intrusted to the conduct of brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry, that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and

and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harrassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment; a very severe action began, the English maintained it with their usual courage for three hours against cruel odds, but at length, being overpowered, by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigour; but the enemy dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannic majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburg, secured it

An. 1756. with a garrison of Provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouse, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania: but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service.

Admiral
Boscawen
returns to
England.

Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America; the reader will be convinced, that notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

Enter-
prize
against
Goree.

The conquest of the French settlements in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilst France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates,

two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Corke in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the Isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the paultry fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon and four mortars. The French governor, Mr. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants.

The flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed along-side of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships be-

The island
is sur-
rendered.

Aug. 1758. came so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro, killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprize in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels, that chanced to be at anchor in the road; and stores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thousand pounds.

Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalous kings

kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage, being dismissed in three cartel-ships to France; the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops, under colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the king of Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to dismiss this potentate in good humour, or maintain the disposition he professed to favour the commerce of Great Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who can promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

An. 1758.

Commodore Keppel sails to Senegal.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed.

This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune; namely, the loss of the Litchfield ship of war, commanded by captain Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion: but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risque of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace

Shipwreck of captain Barton.

An. 1758. peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the Emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such Barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilized nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages might arise from the connexion.

The incidents of the war that happened in the West Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where admiral Cotes commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection. In the month of March this gentleman, with his own ship the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection: but his valour appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship the Buckingham by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Weazel sloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadalupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Cap-

Gallant
exploit of
captain
Tyrrel.



RICHARD TYRREL Esq.^r
late Captain of the Buckingham.



tain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry; and the Weazle, running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chace, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being intirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against the three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation; and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the Florissant, her
firing

An. 1758. firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about the twilight: but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue with any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned, in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the Florissant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

In the East Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were intirely defeated. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East Indies under the command of general Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of Mr. d'Apché superior to that of admiral Pocock, who had succeeded admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the

the English squadron stationed on the coast of Comorandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with several ships under the direction of commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, admiral Pocock, who had already signalized himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, sailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the same precaution, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet; and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pocock's own ship, and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it advisable to pursue them with all the sail he could carry; but nevertheless he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed: the enemy shewed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pocock, on the supposition that they had weathered him in
the

Admiral
Pocock
engages
the French
squadron
in the
East In-
dies.

An. 1758. the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward; but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alem-parve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East-Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the British admiral did not lose one-fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct: two were dismissed from that service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

Fort St.
David's
taken by
the
French.

In the mean time Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea; two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. Admiral Pocock having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirtieth day of the month he came in sight of Pondicherry,

dicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning ; nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madrafs, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he failed a third time in quest of Mr. d'Apché, and, in two days, perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chace in hope of bringing them to an engagement ; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third day of August, when having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides, but in little more than ten minutes Mr. d'Apché set his forefail and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chace, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats and croud with all the sail they could carry. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocock anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including commodore Stevens and captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded

Second
engage-
ment be-
tween ad-
miral Po-
cock and
monfieur
d'Apché.

An. 1758. on board of the French squadron, amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the islands of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit, thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Progress
of Mr.
Lally in
the East-
Indies.

Mr. Lally having reduced Cudalore and Fort St. David's†, resolved to extort a sum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor, for a certain sum which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lack of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital: but after he had prosecuted the siege until a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison

† Cudalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor

any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.

at Trichenopoli, he found himself obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the succeeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the East India company were so much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

Having particularized the events of the war which distinguished this year, in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favour the a— designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign el—, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalized the former campaign; the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expence of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the dis-

Transac-
tions on
the conti-
nent of
Europe.

An. 1758. tresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war which desolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned, but the powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other, with the most implacable resentment. Jarring interests were harmonized, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealousies asswaged, and even inconsistencies reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the king of Prussia; and, on the other hand, the k--- of G--- B----- seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The Empress-queen, over and above her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburg; and therefore she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her

schemes in concert with the court of Vienna : but her designs against Hanover, amounted to absolute conquest : in pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four and twenty thousand which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. The Czarina, by co operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German empire : but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of G---- B----n, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania ; and her general Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders : but in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the empress of Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia, by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly

An. 1758. proved that either the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

The king of Prussia raises contributions in Saxony and the dominions of the duke of Wirtemberg.

When the Russian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, marechal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all the Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected. The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Kohningsgratz. The king of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breslau, to penetrate into the Austrian or southern part of Silesia, where they surprized Troppau and Jaggornsdorf, while he himself remained at Breslau, entertaining his officers with concerts of music. Not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance. He layed Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received intimation that the duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who

not

not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French minister. The states of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Prussian majesty's injunction, received a second intimation, importing, That they should levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thousand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzig was taxed with an extraordinary subsidy of eight hundred thousand crowns, on pain of military execution. The states were immediately convoked at Leipzig, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He justified these proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practised the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of Protector of the Protestant religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons, who were subjected to such grievous impositions. Impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the king of P---a declared they might depend upon his protection.

An. 1758.

State of
the armies
on the
continent.

Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the empress-queen of Hungary, and the states of the Empire, the Czarina, the kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thousand men; while the elector of Hanover assembled a body of sixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse Cassel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunswic Wolfembuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was intirely changed.

The
French
king
changes
the admi-
nistration
of Hano-
ver.

In the month of December, in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faigy, to whom the French king granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his most Christian majesty in the course of the campaign; and to remove the receivers who had
been

been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French king, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been intrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenues, should communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies; that the magistrates of the towns, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentic account of the sums they had payed during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears, from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-seven and Bremeworden*, the court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth day of August; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms,

* Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the ge-

nerals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

An. 1758. in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree abovementioned, the administration of John Faigy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his most Christian majesty?

Plan of a treaty between the French king and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, being desirous of averting a like storm from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connexion with the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the duc de Deuxponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty to be founded on the following conditions. The landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the king and his allies; and give no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote, in the general or particular assemblies of the Empire, against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of
the

the Empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most Christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the king of France should guaranty all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the Emperor, and the Empress-queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the Empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the dyet of the Empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the estates of his serene highness should be attacked, his most Christian majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours,

These

An. 1758.

Remarks
on this
plan.

These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and, if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine G—n ally. The l—— of H— C—I had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice the interests of Great Britain: but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour, might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the last war; in the course of which his troops were hired to the king of Great Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute, and stood connected with her designs by solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be enlisted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

The landgrave of Hesse Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch. The duke of Brunswic, still more nearly connected
with

with the king of Great Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that, in ten days after the convention of Closter-seven, he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negotiation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunswic, accepted and signed the conditions which the French king and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, That his most Christian majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswic and Wolfembutte during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the king or his allies: that the duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by the marshal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the Empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanic body had assembled; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the dyet, approved and confirmed by the Emperor. In consideration of all these concessions the duke was restored to the favour of the French king, who graciously promised

An. 1758.

Treaty concluded between the French court and the duke of Brunswic.

that

An. 1758. that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswic.

How scrupulously soever the duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswic, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke wrote an expostulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family; insisting upon the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops; and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual*.

The duke's expostulation with his brother prince Ferdinand.

Not-

* Translation of the letter written by the duke of Brunswic to his brother prince Ferdinand.

“ S I R,

“ I know you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed it afflicts me greatly. Mean while,

I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you, that this step is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitutions of the Empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country,

Notwithstanding this warm remonstrance, prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops,

An. 1753.

try, which you pretend to serve. The hereditary prince, my son, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose, for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have stayed with the Hanoverians, would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the hereditary prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs, without the suggestion of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just com-

plaints against you before the whole Empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause, that you pretend to support? —I repeat it, brother, that this design could never have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction: if you should, (which I pray God avert) I solemnly declare, that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-seven, dismissed them, and sent them home: the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was settled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention; while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles, and

An. 1758. troops, and the hereditary prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalized himself by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

Decree of
the Aulic
council
against
the elec-
tor of
H—r, and
others.

The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had intirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire. The French king was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the Emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the dyet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the Empire, with avocatory letters annexed, against the king of Great Britain, elector of Hano-

and at Vienna. After all these steps, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and intirely ruin my estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my all; or rather, I have been sacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and, in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot listen to it: I cannot recede from my pro-

mise. My troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your express too long, I shall send you, by the post, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with an heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your, &c.

Blanckenbourg, Nov.

27, 1757."

ver,

ver, and the other princes acting in concert with the king of Prussia. An. 1758.

The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-seven had been violated and set aside, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch. In answer to the Emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, baron Gimmengen, the electoral minister of Brunswic-Lunenbourg, presented to the dyet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his sovereign had done the house of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's refusing to assist him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. He enumerated many instances in which she had assisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprizes were executed by detachments with various success. The Hanoverian general Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlimburg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates

Winter
excursions.

An. 1758. gates of Brunswic, and kept the French army in continual alarm, he was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Ackerleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelsack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the duke of Broglio assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen demanded admittance, threatening, that in case of a refusal he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment—the duke de Richlieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately dispatched to the duke of Broglio, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised, upon his honour, that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest,

however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rottenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and distemper arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued.

The duke de Richelieu recalled.

An. 1758.

Generous
and hu-
mane con-
duct of
the duke
de Ran-
dan.

The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse: but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by the honour and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroic behaviour on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it in a letter of thanks to him and the count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy in their sermons did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endued with sensibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order

der to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya upon the Weser, detached the hereditary prince of Brunswic with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The hereditary prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the count de Chabot threw himself with two battalions into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne and some detachments of dragoons were actually on the march to his assistance. The hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition, were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, whose valour and activity, on many

An. 1758.
The French abandon Hanover.

The hereditary prince of Brunswic reduces Hoya and Minden.

An. 1758. subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion.

The
French
army re-
treats to
the Rhine.

After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his head-quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harrassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons and some artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars.

The count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishopric of Munster: here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass

the Rhine at Duysburg, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed this order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Kaiserworth was surprized, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken; and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time the count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong intrenchments, until he should be properly reinforced.

An. 1758.
Prince
Ferdinand
passes the
Rhine.

The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the prince de Soubise, who, it was said, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the count de Clermont; and, as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by severity and example. The marechal duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war, with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the

The
French
army re-
inforced.

An. 1758. king's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions: an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation.

Prince Ferdinand's dispositions for attacking the enemy.

The prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken: the conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was intrusted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holstein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the prince of Holstein and lieutenant-general Sporcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfembuttel were

were left in the town of Hulste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. An. 1758.

On the twenty-third day of June at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, prince Ferdinand putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain be-

Their left wing defeated at Crevelt.

An. 1758. tween the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover: he therefore determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. Mean while the cavalry on the right, in vain, attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated with the loss of some standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men killed, wounded, or taken

prisoners*. This victory, however, which cost the allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all decisive in its consequences; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, where they remained without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorp, which prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and, in a few days, reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

It was at this period that count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred upon Mr. de Contades, and the French army was considerably reinforced. He even threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design; but was prevented by the little river Eff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet until he should be joined by the body of British troops, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the prince of Yienbourg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse

The count de Clermont resigns the command of the French army, and is succeeded by Mr. de Contades.

* Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement, was the count de Gisors, only son of the marshal duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who fi-

nished a short life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

An. 1758. Cassel: his vanguard had been already surpris'd and defeated by the militia of the country; and the prince of Ysenbourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress.

The
prince of
Ysen-
bourg de-
feated by
the duke
de Brog-
lio.

Prince Ferdinand therefore hoped, that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince of Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The prince of Ysenbourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangarshausen by the duke de Broglio, whom the prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops, greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army, having learned at Cassel, that the Hessian troops under the prince of Ysenbourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men to the village of Sangarshausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were

broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground ; but the duke of Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way ; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden : but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand ; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The prince of Ysenbourg having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men : but in consequence of this advantage the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

The progress of prince Ferdinand upon the Maëse had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable ; and now the certain information of this unlucky check, left him no alternative but a battle, or a retreat across the Rhine :

Prince
Ferdinand re-
solves to
retreat.

An. 1758. Rhine : the first was carefully avoided by the enemy ; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present position he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Gueldre, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army : besides, he had reason to apprehend, that the prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the hereditary prince of Brunswic, who perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place prince Ferdinand received intelligence, that Mr. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard a bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His serene highness was extremely desirous of

of sending succours to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable; so that Mr. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct, and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments.

This general having received advice on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe that same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wessel, under the command of lieutenant-general de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising-ground on his right, from whence he could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces

General
Imhoff
defeats
Mr. de
Chevert.

An. 1758. forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that after a short resistance, the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages : besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers ; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expence.

The allies repass the Rhine.

Immediately after this action, general Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions to reinforce general Imhoff, and enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen : from thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass ; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible ; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge ; but they were all taken before they could put the design in execution, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Duffeldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, acquainting him, that the British troops had arrived at Lingens, in their route to Coesfeldt ;

to which place general Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment: but, notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. An. 1758.

Mr. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement to the prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gottingen, and seemed determined to attack the prince of Ysenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus reinforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom general Oberg now assumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, general Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenberg; where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to

The corps commanded by general Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhagen.

the

An. 1758. the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line; the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising-ground that flanked this village. The French, having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked major-general Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but, in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side of the Weser; but at day-break prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Gunterheim, where they encamped.

In this engagement general Oberg lost about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster, while Mr. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: so that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

Death of
the duke
of Marl-
borough.

Having thus particularized the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps

An. 1758.

Opera-
tions of
the king
of Prussia
at the be-
ginning
of the
cam-
paign.

of the king of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his forces as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March; and carried on his operations with such vigour, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself at the head of another advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the outposts of the enemy. At the same time the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian general Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of marechal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna*.

* At this juncture the Prussian commandant of Dresden, being admitted into the Japan palace, to see the curious porcelain with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three

thousand tents, and other field-utensils. These had been here concealed when the Prussians first took possession of the city; they were immediately seized by the commandant, and distributed among the troops of prince Henry's army.

Over

An. 1758.

Over and above these excursions, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the Empire, which the prince of Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made shift to form again near Bamberg in Franconia.

The king of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops, near Neiss in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by marechal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and general De la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the king was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the Emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but, it seems, he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in his rear; and therefore he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested, orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and marechal Keith was ap-

He enters
Moravia,
and in-
vests Ol-
mutz.

An. 1758. pointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege.

Count
Daun fol-
lows him
with the
Austrian
army.

Mean while the Austrian commander, count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty's motions and design, quitted his camp at Leutomysfel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risque of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies, and received daily reinforcements. His scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally, to harraßs the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provision, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue and liable to surprize; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town-taking.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without hazarding a battle, to which

the king provoked him in vain. While the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the besieged, the Austrian general harrassed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the king finished his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was intirely frustrated by one untoward incident. Marechal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the king to desist from his enterprize. He sent general Jahnus with a strong body of troops towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The king of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began from the motion of the Austrian general to suspect his real scheme, and immediately dispatched general Zieten with a strong reinforcement to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men who had been sick and were just recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Marechal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the

An. 1758.

The king of Prussia obliged to raise the siege of Olmutz.

An. 1758. Austrians charged them furiously on every side : the communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off ; and general Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with general Putkammer ; and the king of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprize.

He retires
into Bo-
hemia.

This was a mortifying necessity to a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by general Marshal the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage : a task which how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by marechal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Pofnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the king had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself with one division took the road of Konitz ; and marechal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four

mor-

mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harrafs his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, general Laszi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomysfel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, general de Retzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Holnitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but marechal Keith coming up, ordered them to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the marechal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomysfel to Koninsgratz, where general Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussian troops at they arrived passed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian intrenchments:

An. 1758. but general Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his intrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the king took possession of the most important post of Koninsgratz without farther opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men arrived in safety at Koninsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions: but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

Progress
of the
Russians.

After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the czarina seemed ready to change her system, the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her in all appearance more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the empress queen and the kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal for the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war; she divided her troops into separate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Brown, and ordered them to put
their

their troops in motion in the middle of winter. An. 1758.
 Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the king's forces had quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not however maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick, where the resident of the czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negotiation with general Fermer, the affair was compromised; he desisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer, turning to the left, advanced towards Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Brown, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the first of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their cossacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his
com-

An. 1758. command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention. Marechal Daun had followed the king into Bohemia, and on the twenty-second day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harrassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

The king
marches
to the
Oder.

The king of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp of Koningsgratz. He was attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: but notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landsbut.

From

An. 1758.

From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where he encamped. The Russians, under general Fermer, were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extended to the village of Zwicker and their left to Quertchem.

The king being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty fifth in the morning, and turning the left flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was outnumbered, did not decline the dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and chevaux de frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydlitz; and the king, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops, to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance:

And defeats the Russians at Zorndorf.

An. 1758. at length, general Seydlitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with such fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground; and terrible havoc was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which was loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been intirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation, which was very gallantly performed. One of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post in the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost above fifteen thousand men, thirty-seven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, there were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The victory cost the king above two thousand men, including some officers of

of distinction, particularly two aids-du-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must be owned, indeed, that the Prussian soldiers were in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorize*. The Prussian army passed the night under

* A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the generals Schla-berndorf and Ruitz, which had been there deposited. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of

the New Marche of Brandenburg, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Franckfort. The particulars of the disaster that befell this city, are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness.

“On the thirteenth of August, about three o’clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread, that a body of Russian hussars and cosacks appeared in sight of the little suburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meserick and Konigswalda, by the way of Landf-

An. 1758. under arms, and next morning the cannonade was renewed against the enemy, who nevertheless maintained

Landſberg. A reinforcement was immediately ſent to our piquet-guard in the ſuburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were ſoon attacked by the enemy, and the ſkirmiſh laſted from four till ſeven o'clock in the evening. During this diſpute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-ſteeple, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, mounted on Engliſh horſes, reconnoitring our fortification through proſpective glaſſes. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire: then our piquet took poſſeſſion of their former poſt in the ſuburb; and the reinforcement we had ſent from the city returned, after having broke down the bridge over the Oder. Next day count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, ſent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten ſquadrons, and a ſmall body of huſſars, under the command of lieutenant-general Scherlemmer. The huſſars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little ſuburb: the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the ſuburb and the fortification; and the reſt of the dragoons remained in the

field, to cover the long ſuburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, colonel Schuck, went with a ſmall party to obſerve the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were purſued by the coſſacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were rouſed from their ſleep by the noiſe of the cannon, intermingled with the diſmal ſhrieks and hideous yellings of the coſſacks belonging to the Ruſſian army. Alarmed at this horrid noiſe, I aſcended the church-ſteeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little ſuburb to the foreſt, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light horſe, ſupported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I deſcried a body of the enemy's infantry, whoſe van conſiſted of four or five thouſand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raiſed occaſional batteries in the preceding evening: from theſe they now played on our piquet-guard and huſſars, who were obliged to retire. Then they fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four batta-

tained that position, without flinching. On the twenty-seventh, they seemed determined to hazard another

An. 1758.

battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs, and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places; and the streets, being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and consternation, and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb shells, which, bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than

a sight of the wretched people, flying in crouds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without cloaths, who had been roused from their beds, and run out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain, I endeavoured to return, and save some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, some sick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends, through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects, when the Russians first entered the king's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon crouded with the people of Custrin: the roads

An. 1758. another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves between the river Warta and that village.

roads were filled with objects of misery: nothing was seen but nakedness and despair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed one night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Cultrin is now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery houses, in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes: nay, after the arches were destroyed, the piles and sterlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at some millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing,

supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety."

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians!

Immediately after the battle, general Fermer *, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian majesty the humble request of general Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, count Dohna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of general Browne; and concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

An. 1758.
Messages that passed between the Russian and Prussian general.

The king of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, marechal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the prince de Deux-ponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian monarch therefore determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the

Situation of the Austrians in Saxony.

* General Fermer is of Scottish extract, and general Browne is actually a native of North Britain.

An. 1758. battle, he began his march from Cuſtrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry; and purſued his route with ſuch-unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Marechal Daun had poſted himſelf at Stolpen to the eaſtward of the Elbe, in order to preſerve an eaſy communication with the army of the empire, encamped in the neighbourhood of Konigſtein; to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Luſatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg; to make a diverſion from the ſouthern parts of Sileſia, where a body of Auſtrian troops acted under the command of the generals Harrache and De Ville; and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrifon in the ſtrong fortrefs of Konigſtein ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after a very feeble reſiſtance, to the prince of Deux-ponts, who forthwith took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pirna. When the king of Pruſſia therefore arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this poſition, and marechal Daun in a ſtill ſtronger ſituation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe; ſo that he could not attack them with any proſpect of advantage.

The king
of Pruſſia
advances
to Hoch-
kirchen,

He had no other reſolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from ſupplies of proviſion; and with this view, he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Auſtrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen; but he choſe another of equal ſtrength at Libau;

yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favourable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The king, having detached general Retzow on his left to take possession of Weissenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony.

In this situation marechal Daun resolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important service, well knowing that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability intirely ruined. Having taken his measures with wonderful secrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the night. Their first care was to take possession of the hill that com-

where he
is sur-
prised and
defeated.

An. 1758. commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies there posted. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury; for notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprize, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack, without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the king being alarmed, exerted all his personal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, reinforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right by the village of Hochkirchen, marechal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where marechal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was shot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunswic had met with the same fate: prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner;



MARSHAL KEITH.

soner; and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprized, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order: the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforcements and redoubled resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage: nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian monarch; and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The king of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of marechal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune *.

He

* As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprized in his

tent, naked and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some

An. 1758.
He retires
to Dobres-
chutz,

He remained with his army ten days at Dobres-
chutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the
Auf-

other character from the imputation of misconduct. This task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-marechal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the king on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Marechal Keith was not in any tent; but lodged with prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themselves masters of the vil-

lage in which the free companies of Angenelli had been posted. Marechal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general, and, knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place: being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and, finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner,

Austrians to a second engagement; but count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advanced - An. 1758. and from thence to Silisia.

ner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspirit the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the marechal, being uncertain whether he was intirely deprived of life. His request was granted; but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback: when Mr. Tibay told him the field-marechal was lying wounded on the field, he asked if his wounds were mortal; and the other answering he was afraid they were, the prince struggled up his shoulders, and rode off

without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation it was perceived by count Laszi, son of the general of that name, with whom marechal Keith had served in Russia. This young count had been the marechal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognized the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Ockzacow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered, and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and, finally, removed to Berlin by order of the king of Prussia, who bestowed upon it those funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their

An. 1758. advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if possible to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and in sight of the enemy marched to Gorlitz, without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of general Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained over them some petty advantages.

their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while

he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign,

Count Daun not only sent this detached corps to retard them in their march, but at the same time by another route detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither in hope of expelling the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's absence. Indeed, his design was still more extensive; for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipzig, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction; the second by the army of the Empire under the prince de Deux Ponts; and the third by a corps under general Haddick; while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia. In execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital, before the prince de Deux Ponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipzig, and even invested that city. During these transactions, general Haddick advanced against Torgau.

An. 1758,
Count
Daun
advances
to Dres-
den.

The field-marshal count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand

The Prus-
sian go-
vernors
of that
city,
burns the
suburbs.

An. 1758. men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted colonel Itzenplitz with seven hundred men in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they should support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates, that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided; and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian governor, and represented in the most submissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and

and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts. An. 1758.

Every bosom, warmed with benevolence, must be affected at the recital of such calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers; but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day marechal Daun sent an officer to count Schmettau, with a message expressing his surprize at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Christians. He desired to know if it was by the governor's order this measure was taken; and assured him, that he should be responsible, in his person, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family resided. Schmettau gave him to understand, that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorized by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task Reflec-
tions on
this mea-
sure.

AN. 1758. talk to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, in as much as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, in foro conscientiae, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue.

The Saxon minister complains of this outrage to the dyet of the empire.

Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the dyet of the Empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war, which the king of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witten suburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired

fired into the houses, and along the streets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms; that those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects, were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers, posted in the streets for that purpose: he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation: but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance.

Baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburg, did not fail to answer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dresden. The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the baron solemnly assured the dyet that the king of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which so many thousand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with such blood-

Answered
by the mi-
nister of
Branden-
burg.

An. 1758. shed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He therefore declared, that those who excited the present troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil upon the flames, must answer to God for the seas of blood that had been, and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy however for mankind, were princes taught to believe that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging Power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as private murder.

The king
of Prussia
raises the
siege of
Neiss,
and re-
lieves
Dresden.

While count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the king of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian general de Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian governour Theskaw till the first day of November, when the Prussian monarch approached and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprize. Mr. de Harsche having raised the siege, the king detached general Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harfch retired to Bohemia, and De Ville

Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf. The fortress of An. 1758.

Neiſs was no ſooner relieved than the king of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time the two bodies under the generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Cuſtrin to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Viſtula, and even crossed that river at Thorn; the other had during the campaign observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories; so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenburg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss; and then raised the siege of Leipzig. Mean while the king prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct.

The Russian general, foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached general Palmbach with fifteen thousand men to besiege the town

The Russians mis-
carry in
their at-
tack upon
Colberg.

An. 1758. town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October ; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six and twenty days ; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valour of the Prussian monarch, his generals and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipzig, and Dresden.

Recapitulation of the events of this campaign.

The variety of fortune which the king of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable ; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories ; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, was obliged to relinquish that design ; marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harrassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him ; that, in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated
a great

a great army of Russians, returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution.

His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct. Incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions, were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipzig, requiring them in the king's name to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand the magistrates represented that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contribu-

The inhabitants of Saxony grievously oppressed,

An. 1758. tions already raised was absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies: that the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning, the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cæmeteries, towers, and steeples: then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by general Haus, who told them the king his master would have money, and if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address, they replied to this effect: "We have no more money---we "have nothing left but life; and we recommend "ourselves to the king's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets; the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentation. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consterna-

sternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report ! An. 1758.

When the king of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace : but upon his last arrival at Dresden, he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled ; at the same time signifying that though the king of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers : a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy counsellors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the king of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining the merchants to straw-beds and naked apartments,

King of P——'s declaration with respect to that electorate.

An. 1758. obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents : a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sopher towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcilable to the character of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror, ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province, a neutral country which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

Progress
of the
Swedes in
Pomerania.

Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularize the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation under the command of count Hamilton. We have already observed that in the beginning of the year, the Prussian general Lehwaldt had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwaldt resigned the com-

mand of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen to which they had retired: but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those that were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprize. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gun-powder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which, at this period, seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigour.

In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of

They retreat to Stralsund.

An. 1758. thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the islands of Dragoë and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five and twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The king of Prussia alarmed at their progress, dispatched general Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on the march; so that on the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against count Hamilton, while the prince of Bevern with five thousand advanced on the other side from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellen, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and tho' the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter-quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

The king of Prussia was not only favoured by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland, among such Palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Russian army. The dyet of the republic was opened on the second day of November, and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected marechal: but no sooner had the chamber of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachment of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamours; and many were prevailed upon to refer these grievances to the king in senate: but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up, and declared, that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the dyet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot. He solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the marechal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a senatus consilium, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture.

An. 1758.

Proceedings in the dyet of Poland.

The king of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his son, prince Charles, in the dutchy of Courland. He had

An. 1758. been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The states declared they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner, in Siberia, unless their dutchy should be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburgh confession. His Polish majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son's interest, ordered count Malachowski, high-chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permission to the states of Courland, to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming, that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the dyet.

Prince
Charles of
Saxony
elected
duke of
Cour-
land.

Rescript
of the
court of
Vienna.

The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The Czarina, who, in the month of June, had signified her sentiments and designs against the king of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Peterburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the Empress-queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate king of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna, distributed among the Imperial ministers at the several courts of the empire, copies of a rescript,

script, explaining the conduct of her generals since the beginning of the campaign, and, concluding with expressions of self-approbation, to this effect. “ Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the Imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions ; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected.”

We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulic council, of the empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all Imperial towns, and the noblesse of the empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the elector of Brandenburg ; that their revenues might be sequestred, and themselves punished in their honours, persons, and effects. As the elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the king of Great Britain, by the hands of baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the dyet of the empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandizement of the house of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the Empress-queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties, against an invasion planned by France,

An. 1758.

Memorial to the dyet of the empire, by the minister of Brunswick-Lunenburg.

An. 1758. France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his Imperial majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated, that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the Empress-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majesty's dominions, with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her Imperial majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions: that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswic Lunenburg: that his Imperial majesty, who had sworn to protect the empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honour, and estate; and that the king of England himself, was threatened with the ban of the empire. He took notice, that,

in quality of elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the dyet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In answer to these imputations, he alledged, that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally the king of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous conclusion of the Germanic body; that with respect to his alliance with the king of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured; and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswic, as well as those of Brunswic-Wolfenbuttle, Hesse, and Buckebourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration.

An. 1758.

He owned, that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the Empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowledged, that he had resented the conduct and chastised the injustice of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the duke of Brunswic, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, because they had supplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the Empress-queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries, surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war, who had favoured the unjust enterprizes of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the dyet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose to his Imperial majesty, that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates; and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give order for commencing against the Empress-queen, as archduchess of Austria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswic-Lunenburg. For this purpose, the minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions from their principals.

The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannic majesty's conduct, in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the king of England, in the paper or manifesto, composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and intituled "A Parallel of the Conduct of the king of France, with that of the king of England, relative to the breach of the capitulation of Closter-seven by the Hanoverians."

But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published; in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the king of Great Britain after the defeat at Collin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the public. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate his Britannic majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear, that France would embrace a different system: accordingly she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable, and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object."

An. 1752.

Particular
reply to
the Paral-
lel pub-
lished by
the court
of Ver-
sailles.

An. 1758. jeſt.” He afterwards, in the courſe of his argumentation, adds, “ that they muſt be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to reſiſt thoſe of France, unleſs the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the ſea. In caſe of a war upon the continent, the two powers muſt pay ſubſidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land-forces, and aſpire at conqueſts.”

Such were the profeſſed ſentiments of the B——m——, founded upon eternal truth and demonſtration, and openly avowed, when the buſineſs was to prove, that it was not the intereſt of G—— B—— to maintain a war upon the continent; but afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly eſpouſed, foſtered, and cheriſhed by the blood and treaſure of the E—— nation, then the partiſans of that very m——y, which had thus declared that E——d, without any diverſion on the continent of Europe, was an over-match for France by ſea, which may be termed the Britiſh element; then their partiſans, their champions, declaimers, and dependants, were taught to riſe in rebellion againſt their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common ſenſe and reflection, affirm, that a diverſion in Germany was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſſful iſſue of England’s operations in Aſia, Africa, and America.

Notwithſtanding all the facts and arguments aſſembled in this elaborate memorial, to expoſe the ingratitude of the Empreſs-queen, and demonſtrate the oppreſſive meaſures adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the
mem-

member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those that compose this community; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established. An. 1758.

If the Empress-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the Pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolical Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predecessors the princes of Hungary, who had gloried in the cross of Christ, and been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholic faith under this holy banner. New title conferred on the Empress-queen.

This compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was distinguished Death of pope Benedict XIV. and election of Clement XIII.

An. 1758. guished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cæli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoys good health and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastic, his life is exemplary; his morals are pure and unimpeached: in his character he is said to be learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

The king of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America.

The king of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country.

Assassina-
tion of
the king
of Portu-
gal.

As for the king of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: but in the latter end of the season his attention was engrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigor-

vigorous measures pursued against the incroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine : perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September the king, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestic, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with blunderbusses, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign's, drove the mules at full speed ; a circumstance which in some measure disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and, having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The slugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueira, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of

NUMB. XIX. B b blood ;

An. 1758. blood; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on the supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interposition of Providence.

The king, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the queen with the absolute power of government. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins; and such other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the count de Attouguia, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularized

among the transactions of the following year. At present it will be sufficient to observe, that the king's wounds were attended with no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom. An. 1758.

The domestic occurrences of France were tissued with a continuation of the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the king had interposed his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recall and reinstate those venerable patriots; and, being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks, presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indigna- Continuation of disputes between the parliaments and clergy of France.

An. 1758. **dignation:** they remonstrated, and persevered; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation.

Measures
taken by
the mini-
stry of
that king-
dom to
alarm
Great Bri-
tain.

But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon the continent. The court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their storeships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent, were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence.

They

They either ventured to navigate the river, before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers, in sailing up the gulph; or, lastly, they penetrated through the streights of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which however led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. An. 1758.

Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for the commerce; her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation: but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, that did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose.

An. 1758. Some chose their station in the North Sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland: others cruised in the chops of the Channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships, sailing to and from the sugar colonies, and conveyed them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadalupe, or St. Domingo.

Conduct
of the
king of
Den-
mark.

With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the king of Denmark wisely pursued that course which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers: he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects: he received large subsidies, in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmolested, a much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the protestant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled into all the expence, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that ignis fatuus which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany. Howsoever he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think

it was a point of consequence to his kingdom whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover; whether the Empress-queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the k—— of P—— a circumscribed within the original bounds of his dominion. He took it for granted, that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic, and blind to its own interest, as to permit the empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the Empire: but, even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a distant territory. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous impositions, incurring an enormous debt big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above an hundred and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one

An. 1758. twentieth part of that sum; a country with which it had no natural connection, but a common alliance arising from accident.

The king of Denmark, though himself a prince of the Empire, and possessed of dominions in Germany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue, as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel. Yet he took care to maintain his forces, by sea and land, upon a respectable footing; and, by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but over-awed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might chuse to trim the ballance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harrassed as a party, was honoured as an umpire. Had Great Britain adhered to these prudent maxims, with regard to the continent, from which she is, both by nature and interest, infinitely farther removed, she must have been at this day one of the most powerful, opulent, and happy nations that ever flourished on the face of the earth; and, as arbiters of all Europe, would have surely acted a much more important part than she now performs on the theatre of Germany.

Answers
to the
charge
brought
by the
Dutch a-
gainst the
English
cruisers,

The United Provinces, though as averse as his Danish majesty to any participation in the war, did not however so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: at least, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret byass in favour of the enemies of Great Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the

appearance of the most flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruisers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war against Great Britain. The charge of violence and injustice which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the West Indies, they founded on the tenth article of a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, stipulating, "That whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading or part thereof may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, shall be free and unmolested; except these be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner prescribed by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least inquiry to whom the merchandize belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the English casuists would by no means admit, for the following reasons: a general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy, would be such a glaring absurdity as no convention could authorize; com-

An. 1758.

An. 1758. mon sense has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity: therefore the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article, could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning; which, indeed, relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of peace. But, even should this interpretation be accepted, the article, and the treaty itself, would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, That neither of the contracting parties should give, nor consent that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories, to furnish any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, moneys, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever. Now the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances, during the present war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the king of Great Britain, in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked: for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which
this

this refusal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification. The French, as they did in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States General of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusion, by that necessity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West-Indies; consequently the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined, that every nation has a right

An. 1758. right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West-Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament *.

It

* In the reign of king William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that they should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorf, who signified his sentiments in the following letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that

author's treatise on the law of nature and nations.

" The work, Sir, which you have in view, relating to the liberty of navigation, excites my curiosity. It is a curious subject, which no person that I know of has yet particularly handled. I very much fear, however, if I may judge from your letter, that you will find people who will dispute your notions. The question is certainly one of those which have not yet been settled on any clear or undeniable principles, so as to afford a general rule to mankind. In all the examples brought on this subject, there is a mixture of right and fact. Each nation usually allows, or forbids, the maritime commerce of neutral people with its enemy, either according as it happens to be its interest to preserve the friendship of those people, or it finds itself strong enough to obtain from them what it requires. For example,

It was for these reasons that the king of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister

An. 1758.

Remarks on the conduct of both nations.

ple, the English and Dutch may say, without absurdity, that it is lawful for them to do all the mischief they can to the French, with whom they are at war, and, consequently, to employ the method most proper to weaken them, which is to traverse and ruin their trade. They say it is not reasonable that neutral nations should enrich themselves at their expence, and, by engrossing a commerce which the English and Dutch are deprived of, furnish the French with money to maintain the war. This seems the rather just, because England and Holland commonly favour the trade of neutral nations, by suffering them to transport, and sell in foreign markets, merchandize of their own growth and manufacture. In short, they say that they are willing to leave them in possession of the trade they usually carry on in time of peace; but they cannot see them take advantage of the war, to extend their commerce to the prejudice of England and Holland: but as this matter of trade and navigation does not so much depend upon rules founded on a general law, as upon conventions made between particular na-

tions, so, in order to form a solid judgment of the point in question, we ought previously to examine what treaties subsist between the northern crowns on one part, and England and Holland on the other; and whether these last powers have offered the former just and reasonable conditions. On the other hand, nevertheless, if the northern princes can maintain their trade with France, by sending strong convoys with their fleets, I see nothing to blame in this practice, provided their vessels have no contraband merchandize on board. The laws of humanity and equity between nations, do not extend so far as to require, without any apparent necessity, that one people should give up their profit in favour of another. But as the avarice of merchants is so great, that, for the smallest gain, they make no scruple of exceeding the just bounds of commerce; so nations that are at war may certainly visit neutral ships, and if they find prohibited goods on board, have a full right to confiscate them. Besides, I am not at all surprized, that the northern crowns have a greater regard to the general interest of Eu-

rope,

An. 1758. After plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the States-general, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their High Mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined, not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality ; nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more surprising, that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandize of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confede-

rope, than to the complaints of some rapacious merchants, who care not how matters go, provided they can satisfy their thirst of lucre. These princes wisely judge, that it is not at all convenient for them to precipitate measures, while other nations unite all their forces, to reduce within bounds an insolent and exorbitant power which threat-

ens Europe with slavery, and the Protestant religion with ruin. This being the interest of the northern crowns, it is neither just nor necessary, that, for a present advantage, they should interrupt such a salutary design, especially as they neither incur the smallest expence, nor run the least hazard, &c."

rates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports; and notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the States General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffick, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expence at which the war was maintained. It is well known thro' all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently it was not the interest, either of the States General, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of self-interest, which operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great Britain. In the course of the last war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber from Ireland, and the British colonies in North America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English Squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason

An. 1758. reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffick by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation ; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connection of mutual interest subsisting between Great Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such a traffick.

Conferences between the British ambassador and the States General.

Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the States General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the Princess Regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great Britain ; and these co-operating with representations made by the States General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and

and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of England. The princess, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States General, but also to play off one faction against another in the way of remonstrance and exclamation. An. 1758.

As far back as the month of June, she presented a memorial to the States General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in their land-forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion. She gave them to understand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overijssel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand, that the augmentation of their land-forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and requested her to reinforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place. This request, she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorized to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each

Manage-
ment of
the Prin-
cess Re-
gent.

An. 1758. party proposed. The princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern ; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister Mr. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness : that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army ; whereas, innumerable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the princess, in an assembly of the States General, requested their High Mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland, to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen ; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them, that the deputation which waited on her consisted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which

which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negotiation begun with Great Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

In consequence of this interposition, the States General that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the Princess Regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republic, in the mean time,

An. 1758.

Substance of a letter from the States General to the states of Holland and West-Friesland.

An. 1758. would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them; as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony, which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wise and salutary resolution, with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land-forces; so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion.

It was undoubtedly the duty of all, who wished well to their country, to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great Britain were so numerous and powerful, as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of all shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where

where they would hardly have met with any opposition. An. 1758.

While the operations of the war were prosecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest: for the dejection occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cas, soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, which, in the beginning of the year, had been carried on with unusual violence; the levy of so many new corps of soldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatsoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed in widening and repairing London-Bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city; notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the magistrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the king's pardon was offered in a public advertisement, by

Domestic
occur-
rences in
Great
Britain.

An. 1758. the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such a wicked outrage ; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London watermen : but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy of the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried ; and a guard was appointed to prevent any such atrocious efforts in the sequel.

Tumult
in Lanca-
shire.

Dangerous tumults were raised in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort, while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection ; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

Trial of
Dr. Hen-
sey.

In the month of June Florence Hensley, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was
tried

tried at the court of King's Bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared, that he had been employed as a spy for the French ministry; to which, in consideration of a pauper's pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court, having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an inquiry touching the source of this information; and soon received an assurance, that the secretary of the Spanish ambassador had a brother, a physician, at London. The suspicion, naturally arising from this circumstance, being imparted to the ministry of England, Henfrey was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North America, the capture of the two ships *Alcide* and *Lys*, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the public. He had even informed them that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochfort; and advised a descent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pro-

An. 1758. nounced on such occasions: but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile.

Trial of
Dr. Sheb-
beare.

The severity of the g——t was much about the same period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a public writer, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the m——y in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the t——ne itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire. The m——y, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse; and he was apprehended by warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial, in the court of King's Bench, he was found guilty of having writ the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour: so that, in effect, this man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensley, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

Amidst

Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuosity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national institutions: witness the great number of hospitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the public began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had in his life-time built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed; when the trustees, by public advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage-portion, provided she mar-

An. 1758.

Institution of charities.

ried

An. 1758. ried a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly on the first of May the candidates appeared; and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds to defray the expence of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution.

Magda-
len-hospi-
tal and
Asylum.

Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of those unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had

had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other; that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and assistance; that, stung with self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human beings could sustain: that whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were intirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry and tem-

An. 1758. temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been so unhappily dissevered. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital; in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surry-side of Westminster-bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents: and no doubt the managers of both will be enabled, by the contributions of the tender-hearted and humane, to extend their protection over every object labouring under those species of distress which they propose to relieve.

Society
for the
improvement of
arts.

Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification, secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberality of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a public, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from
a very



HUGH Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND.



a very considerable number of members, who payed a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room, built and furnished at the common expence; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday of May; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed upon business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expence of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America; and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflower, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing singlals, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persian-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to

An. 1758. vegetate in the West Indies; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They moreover allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the public, than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom.

Other encouragement for learning and ingenuity.

The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaister-casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instruction of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso relievo. Over and above these institutions,

Mr.

An. 1758.

Mr. Finch and Mr. Townshend, animated with a laudable zeal for the improvement of learning, bestowed considerable prizes upon the two senior batchelors of arts, and the two middle batchelors, in the university of Cambridge, who should compose the best exercises in Latin prose, to be recited in public.

Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident, that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history ; but as it was attended with many curious circumstances, the reader will excuse the digression. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the abovementioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed “ To his grace the duke of Marlborough, with care and speed,” and containing this address : “ My lord, As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies ; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourself. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenour of my propo-

Remarkable transaction relating to the duke of Marlborough.

An. 1758. fals will not be very courtly ; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time, to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life : that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power ; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me ; which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion ; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy. Felton*.—You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone ; and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is in-

* The name of the assassin of Buckingham, in the reign who poignarded Villiers duke of Charles I.

fured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me." The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horseback and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable. He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having writ the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head, when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person, expected to be addressed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the duke rode home. In a day or two after this transaction another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms: "My lord, you receive this as an acknowledgement of your punctuality, as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant; the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you

• Numb. 19. D d walk

An. 1758. walk in the west isle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person, whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction, you will please send two or three hundred pound bank-notes, the next day by the penny post. Exert not your curiosity too early ; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite. I am, &c. F."

The duke determined, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed, and after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person, to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park, enter the Abbey with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosting him, asked if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him ? He replied, " No, my lord, I have not." " Sure, you have," said the duke ; but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the isle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them ; and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect ;

fect : “ My lord, I am fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday : I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature ; but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were, by accident, and may easily find where I go to ; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your grace ; but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers : you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These, and the former terms complied with, ensure your safety : my revenge, in case of non-compliance, (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure ; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the *Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme.”

The expression, “ you will see me again soon, as it were, by accident,” plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park, and in the Abbey ; nevertheless he saw him not again, nor did he hear any thing farther of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter : “ May it please your grace, I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor in Abingdon-build-

* Blood was the name of the ruffian, who, in the reign of Charles II. endeavoured to assassinate the duke of Ormond, and to steal the crown from the Jewel-office in the Tower.

An. 1758. ings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety : his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately ; it would be useless to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair. Your sincere friend, Anonymous.—He frequently goes to Storey's Gate coffee-house."—In about a week after this intimation was received, the duke sent a person to that coffee-house to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to speak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait on his grace next Thursday, half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no sooner appeared than the duke recognized him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate ; and was answered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction ; to which Barnard listened with attention and surprise, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion. The duke observing, that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said, " It is very odd, my father was then out of town." An expression the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an inno-

innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent he ought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew.—He was afterwards taken into custody, and tried at the Old Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute: but no evidence could be found, to prove the letters were of his hand-writing; nor did any presumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Westminster-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two first letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he saw the duke in Hyde-park, he was on his way to Kensington, on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: that his being afterwards in Westminster-abbey was the effect of mere accident: that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with this request till after much solicitation: that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey; but was prevailed on by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly erected monument of general Hargrave: that as he had former-

An. 1758. ly communicated to this friend the strange circumstance of the duke's speaking to him in Hyde-park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-sighted; and that, from his passing them several times, concluding he wanted to speak with Mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewise appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances: that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money: that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not seem to have had any real design to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose, and, indeed, could not possibly take effect, without the most imminent risque of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the duke, exciting the curiosity of the public, puzzling the multitude, and giving rise to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the duke earnestly desired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closetted

setted the person suspected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promising inviolable secrecy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a sacred obligation. On the whole, it is surprising that the death of the duke, which happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret practices of this incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand, that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain. An. 1758.

On the twenty-third day of November both houses of parliament met at Westminster, when, his majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the lord-keeper harangued them to this effect. He told them, his majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his parliament, that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that might promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms: that, in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously gave, his majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace*: that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts; and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked Meeting of the parliament.

* In the month of August the king, in quality of elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.

An. 1758. with impunity: that the conquest of the strong fortresses of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America; and the reduction of Senegal; could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great Britain. He observed, that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his majesty's fleets and armies: a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels: but no treatment, however injurious to his majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his majesty's good brother the king of Prussia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majesty's troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received

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from

from his majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles. In this state of things, he said, the king, in his wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by and defend his majesty, vigorously to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of his majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the house of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burdens of his people; that the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the king took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it, would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it.

The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this harangue abound with harshness of period, and inelegancy of expression: he will wonder that, in particularising the successes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of fort

Du

Remarks
on the
speech.

An. 1758. Du Quesne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be still more surpris'd to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by sea and in America, had deriv'd the most evident advantage from the war in Germany. An assertion the more extraordinary, as the B—— m——, in their answer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expressly affirm'd, that “none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England, can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy’s force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea.—That they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea.” It is very remarkable, that the B—— m—— should declare, that the war in Germany was favourable to the English operations by sea, and in America; and, almost in the same breath, accuse the French king of having fomented that war. Let us suppose that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have oppos’d the progress of the British arms by sea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to such a condition, that it durst not quit her harbours: her merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confin’d in England, and the sea was cover’d with the British cruisers: in these circumstances, what expedients could she have contriv’d for sending supplies and reinforcements to Ame-

America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great Britain in any other part of the world? None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man ship-wrecked on a desolate island. But granting that the war in Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the prosecution of their operations in America, (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) the question is not, whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe have prevented France from sending a greater number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either necessary or expedient, for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour must answer in the negative. The expence incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the empire, exceeds three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expence, without being able to protect Hanover, has only served to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in America and the West-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her sugar colonies, as well as of her settlements on the continent of America; and being absolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain such formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. These are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the public, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial

trial

An. 1758. tial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice, which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

New
treaty
with the
king of
Prussia.

The conduct of the administration was so agreeable to both houses of parliament, that in their address to the throne, they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his majesty's person, congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promised to support his measures and allies with steadiness and alacrity*. It was probably in consequence of

* That the charge of disaffection to the king's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents, against all those who had honesty and courage to oppose the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was intirely false, and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midst of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great Britain, all opposition ceased in both houses of parliament. The addresses of thanks to his majesty, which are always dictated by the immediate servants of the crown, were unanimously adopted in both houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflated with expressions of rapture and admiration. They de-

clared themselves sensible, that the operations of Great Britain, both by sea and in America, had received the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and seemed eager to espouse any measure that might gratify the inclinations of the sovereign. As the temper of the present parliament is a phenomenon, which has not before appeared since the revolution, and we know not how long it may be visible in this our hemisphere, we shall, in order to mark it the more strongly, exhibit in this note the addresses of both houses verbatim. That of the peers was in the following terms :

“ Most gracious sovereign,

“ We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave

of this assurance, that a new treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was concluded at London on the An. 1758.
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leave to approach your throne, with hearts full of thar duty and affection to your *sacred person and government*, which become the most faithful subjects to the best of kings. That constant regard and *attention*, which your majesty has *shewn to the honour and interest of your kingdoms*, have filled our minds with the most grateful sentiments; and we see with real satisfaction, those active and vigilant efforts, which your majesty, *in your great wisdom*, has made to carry on the war with vigour, in order to the desirable end, which we all wish, a safe and honourable peace. Justice and good policy required, that our enemies should feel, how dangerous it is for them to provoke the spirit and strength of the British nation. We acknowledge, with becoming thankfulness, the goodness of the Divine Providence, in having crowned your majesty's measures and arms with success in several parts; and we joyfully congratulate your majesty on the conquest of the strong fortrefs of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John, the taking of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal. The high importance of these suc-

cesses is apparent, in the reputation thereby acquired to your majesty's arms, and in the distress *they cannot fail to bring* upon the French commerce and colonies, as well as in the happy effects procured to those of Great Britain. We have seen, with the warmest emotions of resentment, the exorbitant devastations committed by the armies of France upon the dominions of your majesty, and those of your allies in Germany. They must now have experienced how much, in consequence of their unbounded ambition to invade their neighbours, their own coasts are exposed in the demolition of their expensive works at Cherbourg, particularly intended for the annoyance of this country; and in the loss of so many ships and vessels, as well privateers as others, in their ports. At the same time, we cannot sufficiently admire your majesty's *magnanimity and moderation*, in not having hitherto retaliated, on the innocent subjects of that crown, the injurious treatment which you have received. *We have a just sense of the real advantages derived to the operations of Great Britain in particular*, as well as to the common

An. 1758. the seventh day of December, importing, that as the burthensome war, in which the king of Prussia

common cause in general, from the wise conduct of the king of Prussia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Their great abilities, and the bravery of your majesty's troops, and those of your allies, have been signally conspicuous in the successes with which they have been attended, and must be acknowledged by all Europe. Nothing can possibly be of greater national importance than the navigation and commerce of your subjects; and we return your majesty our dutiful thanks for that protection and security which they have received from your royal care, in the disposition of your fleet, to which their present flourishing condition is so much owing. The stagnation of our enemy's trade, and the taking and destroying so many of their capital ships of war, ought, in this view, to be reckoned amongst the most happy events.—Permit us to declare our grateful sense of that paternal tenderness which your majesty has expressed for the burthens of your people: we receive from thence the strongest encouragement to adhere the more firmly to the *cause of the protestant religion*, and public liberty, against any

unnatural union formed to oppress it. In this just cause we will, to our utmost, effectually stand by and defend your majesty; *support the king of Prussia, and the rest of your allies*; and vigorously exert ourselves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. Our duty and fidelity to your majesty, and our zeal for the protestant succession in your royal family, are uniform and unalterable: our prayers for the prolongation of your precious life, and auspicious reign over us, are sincere and fervent; and we beg leave to give your majesty the strongest assurances, that nothing shall be wanting on our part to improve union and good harmony amongst all your subjects, for promoting and securing these interesting and essential objects."

The address presented by the commons proceeded in the following strain:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty our most sincere and hearty thanks for the speech delivered, by your majesty's command, to both houses of parliament.

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Prussia is engaged, lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude

“ We beg leave to congratulate your majesty, with hearts full of the most unfeigned joy, upon the many signal successes, with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless your majesty’s measures and arms in several parts of the world; particularly in the important conquest of the strong fortrefs of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, so essential to our operations in North-America; the reduction of the valuable settlement of Senegal; the total demolition of the harbour and works of Cherbourg, erected at so great expence by the enemy, with a particular view to annoy this country; and the destruction of the shipping and privateers in the ports of France.

“ Your majesty’s faithful commons feel, with the highest satisfaction, how greatly these events redound to the honour and interests of your majesty’s kingdoms, to the upholding the reputation of the British arms, and to the maintaining and extending the glories of your majesty’s reign.

“ We have the most lively sense of these happy consequences (under God) of your majesty’s wisdom in the pow-

erful exertion of the naval force of these kingdoms, to the annoyance and distress of the fleets, trade, and navigation of France, whilst the commerce of Great Britain flourishes in full protection and security; and, at the same time, of your majesty’s justice and magnanimity, in steadily supporting your allies, and in carrying on with vigour, in all parts, this arduous and necessary war.

“ It is with joy and admiration we see the glorious efforts made in Germany, by your majesty’s great ally the king of Prussia, and those made by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, seconded by the valour of your majesty’s troops, and those of your allies; and that full employment has thereby been given to all the armies of France, and of her confederates: *from which, our operations, both by sea and in America, have received the most evident and important advantages.*

“ Permit us to assure your majesty, that your faithful commons, justly animated in defence of the rights of your majesty’s crown, and of the *protestant religion*, and the common cause of liberty and independency, against the dan-

An. 1758. multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the king of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety ; and as his Britannic majesty hath, at the same time, signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and, in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their majesties have nominated and authorised their ministers, to concert and settle the following articles. All former treaties between the two crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the sixteenth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and the convention of the eleventh of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, are confirmed by the present conven-

dangerous union which hath been formed to oppress them, will bear up against all difficulties, and exert themselves to the utmost, by granting to your majesty such supplies as shall be necessary, effectually to stand by, and defend your majesty, and vigorously to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of your majesty's allies ; firmly relying on the wisdom and goodness of your majesty, that the same will be applied, in the properest manner, to push the war with advantage, and to reduce the enemy to equitable terms of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

“ We beg leave, also, to express our most grateful sense of the paternal satisfaction your majesty takes, in that good harmony which subsists amongst your faithful subjects ; and of your majesty's gracious acceptance of the universal zeal and affection of your people ; which salutary union hath enabled us so effectually to exert our strength abroad, and hath preserved at home tranquillity, safety, and publick credit ; and we trust, that the continuance of the same truly national spirit will, by the blessing of God, be attended with the like happy effects for the future.”

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tion of the eleventh of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty eight, are confirmed by the present convention in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The king of Great Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorized by the king of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rixdollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said majesties. The king of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the king of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude, with the powers that have taken part in the present war, any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the subsidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burdens, and the

An. 1758. complaisance of the commons be in some future session exhausted. On the whole, this is perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy; and every other article is left to the interpretation of his P——n m——y.

We shall conclude this volume with the original pieces, published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna for their mutual justification, that the reader may judge for himself, and determine which of these two powers was, in fact, the aggressor in this dreadful war, which hath desolated the fairest provinces in Germany, and shed such seas of human blood.

JUSTIFYING PROOFS,

Published by Authority at BERLIN.

Numb. I.

Treaty of Eventual Partition, dated May 18, 1745.

EXPERIENCE having but too well shewn how far the king of Prussia carries his evil intentions, in order to disturb the repose of his neighbours; and that prince having on the one hand repeatedly invaded and laid waste the dominions of her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and on the other side alarmed his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, by divers menaces, warlike preparations, and violently passing through his territories, for which it has not been possible to obtain due satisfaction for time past, nor sufficient security for the future; it has been considered that this double end cannot be obtained till the said formidable neighbour is reduced within narrow bounds. For these reasons, his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as an auxiliary ally, and her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as a party attacked and at war, have agreed, by the present separate and secret act, to employ their joint efforts, not only to perform fully the act passed between their majesties the 1st of May, 1744, and the measures concerted in consequence of the engagements entered into by their treaty of alliance the 8th of January, 1745, with the maritime powers; but likewise, that neither the one nor the other shall lay down their arms, till, besides the conquest of all Silesia and the county of Glatz, the king of Prussia be farther reduced.

And that they may previously understand one another, with regard to the partition of the conquests to be made, seeing the 8th article of the said treaty of Warlaw only settled in general terms, that his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is to partake of the advantages, by having such territories as lie convenient for him; it has appeared necessary to distinguish the cases that may hereafter happen, and to come to a right understanding about each of them.

Suppose then, that besides the recovery of all Silesia and the county of Glatz, they should conquer from the said king the dutchy of Magdeburg, including therein the circle of Saar, the principality of Crossen with the circle of Züllichau be-

longing thereto, and the fiefs of Bohemia possessed by that king, and situated in Lusatia; namely, Cöthbus, Peitz, Storkau, Beeskau, Sommerfeld, and other places and districts belonging thereto: in this case, all Silesia and the county of Glatz, excepting Swibus, must return to her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, who, in exchange, cedes all the rest just mentioned, with the district of Swibus, belonging otherwise to Silesia, to his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony.

Supposing, on the contrary, that besides the recovering of all Silesia and the county of Glatz, they could conquer upon the aggressor no more than the circle of Saal, the principality of Cössen, with the circle of Züllichau, and the abovementioned fiefs of Bohemia belonging to him in Lusatia; then his Polish majesty, elector of Saxony, shall be content with this last partition and the district of Swibus, leaving in like manner to her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia all Silesia and the county of Glatz, Swibus excepted. But suppose, in fine, that contrary to all expectation, and in spite of the joint efforts abovementioned, they could conquer, besides the county of Glatz and the whole of Silesia, no more than the principality of Cössen, with the circle of Züllichau, and the abovesaid fiefs of Bohemia possessed by the said king in Lusatia: in this case, his Polish majesty shall have, besides the principality, the circle and the fiefs just mentioned, the district of Swibus otherwise belonging to Silesia.

And to the end that his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, whatever happens may be so much the more assured of these last acquisitions, at the least, and in all events; her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia engages in the strongest and most solemn manner, that his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, shall have precisely the same securities for these new acquisitions, which she shall or may have for the recovery of her antient patrimonial territories, that is to say, Silesia and the county of Glatz; so that every thing is to go on with an equal pace, and that she must not sit down with the possession of all Silesia, before his majesty the king of Poland be likewise in possession of his share of the conquests.

To this end the Saxon troops of his Polish majesty shall remain in re-conquered Silesia, till his stipulated share be effected, at least according to the last of the cases abovementioned.

After which the high contracting parties shall reciprocally guaranty, both for themselves and their heirs and successors

for ever, whatever has fallen to their respective lot, and shall endeavour to get the same guarantied by their allies.

In witness whereof their majesties have each signed, with their own hand, a copy of the same tenor of this separate and secret act, in order to be exchanged against one another, and have caused their royal seals to be affixed thereto. Done at Leipfick, the 18th of May, 1745.

(L. S.) AUGUSTUS R.

Numb. II.

Translation of the secret separate Article of the Treaty of Peterf-bourg, 1756.

Her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia declares that the peace concluded at Dresden, between her and his majesty the king of Prussia, on the 25th of December 1745, shall be observed, on her part, with the strictest care and attention, and the most inviolable fidelity; and that she will not, first, depart from the renunciation of the right she formerly had, to that part of the duchy of Silesia, and to the county of Glatz, which had been yielded up.

But if, contrary to the expectation and common wish of both the contracting parties, his majesty the king of Prussia should, first, depart from the said peace, whether by hostilely attacking her majesty the Empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her heirs and successors, or her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, or even the republic of Poland; and consequently, in the one or the other of these cases, the said Empress queen's right to the said part of Silesia, and the county of Glatz, yielded up by the abovementioned peace, and thus, her Imperial majesty's guaranty thereof, renewed by the foregoing first and second articles of this treaty, should again take place, and re acquire their full force and vigor: both the said high contracting parties have from henceforth, for that space of time, agreed that in such an unexpected case, but not sooner, the said guaranty shall be performed, and completely fulfilled, with this additional most binding promise, that in order to avert the common danger of such an hostile attack, they will immediately enter into the most close and confidential concert; strictly enjoin to their respective ministers at foreign courts the same mutual confidence and good understanding, and faithfully to communicate to each other whatever either of them shall discover of the enemy's views, designs or intentions: and lastly, hold in readiness, in the bordering or

nearest countries, viz. Her Roman Imperial majesty, in Bohemia, Moravia, and the adjacent countries of Hungary : and her Russian Imperial majesty in Livonia, Estonia, and other neighbouring places, thirty thousand men at least, namely, twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, in such manner, that whenever the case of an hostile attack from Prussia, upon either of the parties shall exist, the said thirty thousand men may, within two months at farthest, or at the utmost three months, after a previous amicable requisition, march to the assistance of the party attacked.

And whereas it is easy to foresee, that sixty thousand men will not be sufficient, to repel an hostile attack, to re-conquer the cessions made by the peace of Dresden, and to secure the public tranquillity more effectually for the time to come ; the two contracting parties have therefore farther engaged themselves to each other, that in the case aforesaid, not only thirty thousand men, but double that number, viz. Sixty thousand men, that is to say, forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, shall be employed for that purpose by each contracting party ; and that, the sooner the better ; both their said Imperial majesties obliging themselves, to that end, to assemble respectively, the said number of sixty thousand men, as speedily, as the distance of the least remote parts, from whence the troops can be drawn, will possibly admit. The troops to be appointed for that purpose, on the part of her Russian Imperial majesty, shall be employed, as well by land as by water, according as the occasions shall then be found most proper ; but on the part of her Roman Imperial majesty, they shall be employed by land only ; in such a manner, that the said troops may in the beginning, as mutual conveniency shall allow, and after previous concert, make a diversion, at one and the same time, in the said king of Prussia's dominions ; and, afterwards, if possible, unite and carry on the operations with combined force. But previously to such junction, and at the beginning of the diversion to be undertaken, there shall be present at each army, a general officer, expressly appointed by the two contracting parties, as well for the sake of counsel, and concert about the execution of the operations, as for giving the necessary intelligence, and to be an eye-witness of the operations so to be executed.

And whereas, in contracting this heartily and well meant engagement, and by such a powerful assistance to be given, and diversion to be made, in favour of the Empress-queen, (if she should be attacked) her Russian Imperial majesty has

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not the least intention to make any new conquests, upon such an occasion, or to appropriate them to herself; and, as she has likewise consented to employ the aforesaid sixty thousand men, by water as well as by land; and the equipment of a fleet necessary thereto will require a great extraordinary expence; which, considering the advantage, that may be expected from it, (as the enemy may be more effectually annoyed, and his forces more divided by water than by land) must be accounted an army far exceeding the sixty thousand men: for these reasons, her majesty the Empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia obliges herself, in order the more fully to demonstrate her gratitude, to pay, within a year, (to be reckoned from the time that Silesia and Glatz shall be again in her possession) to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias two millions of German florins; from which sum, she shall not be entitled to make any deduction, on account of contributions, that may have been raised in the enemy's country.

This present fourth secret separate article shall be of the same force and effect as if it was inserted word for word in the defensive treaty itself, and had been ratified at the same time. In witness whereof the undermentioned ministers have signed and sealed this at Petersburg, May 22, 1746.

(L. S.) J. F. de Pretlack,

(L. S.) Alexy Comte
Bestucheff Rumin.

(L. S.) N. S. de Hohenholtz.

Numb. III.

Resolutions and Instructions for the Count de Vicedom, and the Sieur de Pezold, at Sts Petersburg.

A circumstantial report having been duly made to the king, of the contents of the last dispatches, dated April 18, 19, and 23d, from his privy counsellor and minister plenipotentiary at the Imperial court of Russia, the count de Vicedom, and from his resident at the same court, the privy counsellor of the embassy, sieur de Pezold, brought hither from Petersburg, by the courier Consoli, the 6th of December, and his majesty having especially taken into consideration the affair of accession, instantly demanded of him by the two Imperial courts, to their new defensive treaty of alliance and its separate and secret articles signed at Petersburg the 22d May 1746, and afterwards ratified by both parties, his majesty has thought fit to provide the aforesaid two ministers in Russia,

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with the following heads of resolution and instruction, which are to serve them as a rule to direct their negotiation and conduct in this equally important and delicate affair.

1. The high chancellor of Russia having given them to understand, and also intimated the same here by his brother the grand marshal, that the two Imperial courts would be very glad to have the affair of the king's accession treated and concluded preferably at Petersburg, as being the place where the defensive treaty of alliance in question, renewed between them, was negociated, concluded and signed; his majesty, in order to comply therewith, does for this purpose provide the count de Vicedom and the sieur de Pezold with the annexed full power, together with the clause, *jointly and separately*, to the end that in case of absence, indisposition, or other hindrance of either of them, the other may continue the negociation by conferring nevertheless together and acting in perfect concert.

2. They are to make a merit of this the king's steadiness, by observing to the high chancellor and the ambassador Pretlack, that it is an undoubted proof of his majesty's sincere inclination and attachment to the two empresses, preferably to all other considerations that might induce him to proceed more warily in an affair of this extent and consequence.

3. As the resident Pezold is best acquainted with what passed near two years ago between the two courts, when the king found himself within the case of necessity to claim the assistance of Russia, by virtue of their defensive treaty of alliance renewed against the king of Prussia; and the said resident having been an eye-witness of the indifferent, slow, and insufficient manner in which they answered at the court of Petersburg the reiterated requisitions of his majesty, to which procedure Saxony ought chiefly to attribute its late disasters; he will do well to put the high chancellor count de Bestucheff particularly in mind of it, not so much by way of reproaching him with it, but rather upon the foot of confidential reflections, and to make him acknowledge, that it is indeed a very generous resolution in the king to yield so readily to the desires of the two Imperial courts; and that after what lately happened to him from the Russian court, nothing but his majesty's great confidence in him; the high chancellor, and his present credit and power, could so soon have determined him for the accession, in hopes that this principal minister will think of repairing what is past, by taking his measures so well and so early, that the king may hereafter, in case

case of need, be not only succoured in time and sufficiently, but also that his majesty, on the occasions of reciprocal assistance, may find his account, indemnification, and real advantage.

4. As to the principal treaty between the two Imperial courts, the king is entirely disposed to accede thereto, without any other restriction than that of the number of troops, which they have reciprocally stipulated therein, for the ordinary cases of giving succours; and it is necessary that his majesty's plenipotentiaries propose and insist, that the assistance he is to have, be settled, in the act of accession, at double the succour promised from the electorate of Saxony, inasmuch as the court of Vienna sends to the king, and maintains at its own charge, in all the cases, the reciprocal succours of 6 and 12000 men.

5. After the count de Vicedom and the sieur Pezold shall have settled this with the ministers of the two contracting courts, they shall also proceed to treat of the king's accession to the six separate articles, five of which are secret, and require much more reflection and adjustment with regard to the king's conveniency.

6. However, as his majesty, through inclination and zeal for the common interest and the public good, is not averse to co-operate therein as far as possible, and in proportion to his forces, his plenipotentiaries must take particular care to explain themselves on this head more specially, with those of the two Imperial courts, to the end that their demands, and the king's condescension in each article, may be combined with his majesty's interests.

7. There being among the articles, some points of engagements which properly concern none but the two Imperial courts principally contracting; they shall endeavour to obtain that the king be not included therein, or that they be attempored for his majesty, as also that every future war in Italy be excepted, as it is already in the treaty with the court of Vienna.

8. The first and fourth of the secret articles being the most difficult and onerous, if the king accedes to them in their sense and extent, the two Imperial courts cannot take it amiss that his majesty desires, besides more proportion in the engagements, that they may contain reciprocal conditions and advantages.

9. As to the first secret article, which concerns the guaranty of the grand duke of Russia's possessions, as duke of Holstein.

Holstein-Sleswick, and of his ducal house, the empress of Russia will be pleased to consider how tenderly and cautiously the king must behave towards the court of Denmark, on account of his affinity and right of eventual succession; and therefore the said sovereign, as well as the Empress-queen, and even the Emperor her consort, will not, in return, refuse the king and his posterity the guaranty of the succession to the throne of Denmark, which in time may fall to a prince of the electoral house of Saxony.

10. In fine, as to the fourth article, which regards eventual and stronger measures against a new, sudden, and unexpected attack from the king of Prussia, the king acknowledges therein the prudent forecast of the two empresses, in thinking beforehand how to concert matters together and powerfully assist one another, if, contrary to better expectations, and notwithstanding their scrupulous attention to observe their treaties with the said prince, the latter should invade the dominions of either of either of them; and in this case the king is ready enough to concur in the same measures: but as he is the most exposed to the resentment of so formidable and restless a neighbour, witness the sad experience his majesty has lately had of it, their Imperial majesties cannot think it strange that the king, before entering into such a new, eventual, and extensive engagement, should take better precautions, as well for his security and mutual defence, as for his being indemnified, and recompensed in proportion to his efforts and the progress made against such an aggressor.

11. To this end the count de Vicedom and the sieur Pezold shall ask the Imperial ministers plenipotentiaries, 1. What number of troops, in such a case, their sovereigns desire of the king; and, in return, with how many each of them will assist him? And 2dly, That this succour desired of the king be not disproportionate to the strength of his army. 3. That the two Imperial courts must promise double the number to the king. 4. That the two empresses must each engage to keep at least such a body of their troops in a moveable condition and ready to march to the assistance of his majesty, one upon the frontiers of Prussia, and the other in Bohemia. 5. That they likewise oblige themselves to let the king come in for a share of the prisoners, spoils, and conquests they shall make jointly, or separately, on the aggressor, and thereby the common enemy.

12. With respect to this last point, and the partition of the conquests to be made, the king's ministers plenipotentiaries

tiaries are to ask the Russian minister what his sovereign's offers are; and to declare, relatively to the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, that supposing this princess were attacked again by the king of Prussia, and should recover not only Silesia and the county of Glatz, but likewise succeed in reducing that aggressor within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition stipulated between her and his majesty by the convention signed at Leipzig the 18th of May 1745, a copy of which the resident Pezold received enclosed in a letter from the ministry of the 14th of November following; excepting the third degree of partition defined therein, with which his majesty cannot be satisfied; since in case the Empress-queen should be able to conquer, besides the county of Glatz and all Silesia, no more than the principality of Crossen with the circle of Zullichau, and the fiefs of Bohemia possessed by the king of Prussia in Lusatia, it would be necessary to grant eventually to the king, elector of Saxony, a more considerable share in those conquests than the said principality, the circle, and the fiefs: his majesty will wait for the offers of the court of Vienna on this head, and will order the count de Loofs to negotiate thereupon, wishing only that the Russian court would use its good offices to obtain, in this case, a better partition for the king from the Empress-queen, and then secure and guaranty to his majesty the acquisition thereof.

13. The count de Vicedom and the Sieur Pezold are to take *ad referendum* all that may be said to them in answer to the premises, and not to conclude any thing, until, in consequence of their reports, they shall be authorised to do it by the king's final orders and resolutions.

14. The rest is left to their prudence, dexterity, and zeal for the service, interest, and glory of his majesty, who assures them of his protection and good graces, whilst they apply themselves to fulfil, with all the exactness they are capable of, the points of this instruction. Written at Dresden the 23d of May, 1747.

(L. S.) AUGUSTUS R.
C. de Br.
de Walther.

Numb. IV.

Memorial presented by the Saxon Ministers at Petersburg the $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹/₅ September, 1747.

In the conference held with us the underwritten, the 8th and 19th instant, we have indeed already exhibited our full powers, as also the declarations and conditions upon which his majesty the king of Poland, our most gracious master, as elector of Saxony, is ready to accede to the defensive treaty of alliance concluded between the two Imperial courts at Petersburg the 22d of May, 1746, as also to the secret and separate articles of the same treaty, according to the orders and instructions we have received on this head.

But as their excellencies the ministers of the two Imperial courts, impowered to confer with us, were desirous of having something from us in writing, we would not fail to give the following summary.

I. His Polish majesty very readily and gratefully acknowledges the friendship which the two Imperial courts have been pleased to shew him, in communicating to him the said treaty, with the separate and secret articles, and inviting him to accede thereto; but, at the same time, he flatters himself, that having so many important reasons to abstain in the present crisis from all new engagements, the two high contracting parties will look upon the facility, which his majesty expresses on this occasion, as a fresh proof of his sincere friendship and perfect confidence, and that they will be thereby so much the more inclined to settle the said accession on such a foot, that his majesty may not only be assisted without loss of time, and sufficiently, whenever the case exists, but that he may likewise have a suitable indemnification and real advantages for his reciprocal and real concurrence.

II. In this confidence his majesty is ready to accede purely to the body of the treaty, adding thereto this restriction only, That in return for the number of auxiliary troops which his majesty, as elector of Saxony, shall oblige himself to furnish, the two Imperial courts do stipulate double the number for him, according to the example set in the engagements already subsisting between him and her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia. As for the particular number of troops to be furnished by our court,

we have orders to wait on this head the first overtures from the two high contracting parties. However we think, seeing that the succours which should be mutually furnished in the ordinary cases, on which the body of the treaty turns, is already determined by the treaties which his majesty has already made with the two courts; one might also abide by it in the present accession, and be content with making this serve to confirm preceding engagements.

III. Circumstances being very different with respect to the separate and secret articles, the first and fourth of which especially deserve a much more serious attention; we are instructed, as to the first article, which regards the guaranty of the present possessions of his imperial highness the grand duke of Russia, as duke of Holstein-Schleswick, in Germany, to represent the great care and caution with which his majesty is obliged to manage in regard to the court of Denmark, in consideration of the ties of blood, and of the eventual succession that is due to him; and to propose, for this reason, that in return for the said guaranty which his majesty is to take upon himself, he should have the guaranty of the two high contracting parties, as also that of the Emperor, for the abovementioned right of eventual succession to the throne of Denmark, and that this right be in the mean time acknowledged.

IV. As for the fourth article, his majesty entirely approves of the wise and efficacious measures which the Imperial courts have eventually taken, in case that his majesty the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the exact observation of the peace concluded with him, should again attack in a hostile manner the dominions of either party, and he is ready to concur therein. But as his majesty has many more reasons than the two Imperial courts to think maturely of it, and ought above all things to consider, that according to the sad experience he has lately had, the king of Prussia took a pretext from the succour he was obliged to furnish to her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, to declare war against him; that, moreover, the electorate of Saxony is by its situation so much exposed to his resentment, that, if it were not immediately assisted, it could not possibly withstand by its own forces, such sudden attacks as have been executed by the king of Prussia; and, in fine, if provision be not first made for the security and preservation of the said electorate, the two high contracting parties would themselves be infinitely prejudiced by the ruin of this state. In
confe-

consequence of these considerations, his majesty flatters himself that the two high contracting parties themselves will acknowledge the necessity and justice of the conditions and modifications which we charged to propose, *viz.* 1. That the number of auxiliary troops, which they shall require of his majesty, be not disproportionate to the strength of his army. 2. That each of the two Imperial courts promise double that number to his majesty; and, if this were not sufficient, that the succour be yet farther increased. 3. That the two Empresses do each of them engage to keep, at least, such a body of their troops in a condition to move, and in readiness to march to his majesty's assistance, on the one side on the frontiers of Prussia, and on the other in Bohemia. 4. That these bodies of troops do make a diversion in the countries nearest at hand, the moment that the territories of Saxony shall be attacked, or war declared against the electorate; and this must be done without requiring the formality of a previous concert, notwithstanding what is stipulated on this head in the body of the treaty, as well as in the secret article. 5. That in case one of the two Imperial courts should be attacked, his majesty be not obliged to commence the operations before the other Imperial court has effectively begun to act, in order to avert the effect of the enemy's superiority, or at least till the evident danger of being suddenly crushed ceases. 6. That, in consequence of the 10th article of the treaty, they make his majesty partake not only of the booty and the prisoners, but also of the conquests that may be made on the enemy. And, in fine, 7. 'That as her majesty the empress of Russia has declared, in the 4th secret article, that in the case of sending succours, or making a diversion, she had no design to make new conquests, and consequently it will be indifferent to her how his majesty agrees with the court of Vienna about the eventual partition and a proper indemnification; her said Imperial majesty of Russia would therefore be pleased to approve this convention beforehand, and take upon her to guaranty it.'

As to the fifth separate article, and the second, third, and fifth secret articles, his majesty's accession to these articles must of course be out of the question; because, on the one hand, the said articles turn upon engagements which concern none but the two Imperial courts; and on the other hand, because, in not communicating to his majesty the most secret article alledged in the third secret article, they have themselves thereby given to understand, that the king's

concurrence in those engagements is not required; and that for the rest, they will abide by what has been anteriorly stipulated in the treaties subsisting between his majesty and each of the Imperial courts. But as in the third and fifth secret articles, they have again repeated the exception to the *Casus Fæderis* already laid down in the treaty itself, with regard to future wars in Italy, and have added thereto, that, on the part of the Empress-queen, the present war with the house of Bourbon, and on the part of her majesty the empress of Russia, an hostile aggression on her empire from the side of the North, are not to be deemed as cases that may prevent what has been stipulated in the 4th secret article, with respect to a rupture on the part of Prussia; therefore the two high contracting parties will not refuse to include his majesty likewise in this stipulation.

Finally, the king doubts not but the two Imperial courts will take all these propositions as so many proofs of his equity, his confidence, and his sincere friendship; and he flatters himself so much the more with the hope of receiving a favourable answer, as he has deserved, by the calamities he has incurred for the common cause, that for the future his safety and indemnification should be proportionably better provided for. We the under-written wait for the said declaration and answer, in order to proceed further in the affair of the accession.

St. Petersburg, the $\frac{1}{2}$ Sept. 1747.

Lewis Sigefroy, Count Vitzhum d'Eckstadt.
John Sigismund de Pezold.

Numb. V.

Dispatch from the King of Poland to the Count de Loofs at Vienna, dated Dec. 21, 1747.

You will no doubt remember, that, as soon as the two Imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg gave me an invitation, by the counts of Esterhazy and Bestucheff, to accede to the treaty of defensive alliance renewed between the two Empresses, the 22d of May, 1746, I had caused full information to be given you of the instruction on that head sent to my ministers plenipotentiaries at the Russian court, where it was agreed that the affair of my accession should be treated of. It was on the 23d of May last that I ordered this to be imparted to you; and finding that the court where you reside
delayed

delayed communicating to you the treaty in question ; in the month of July following I ordered a copy of it to be sent to you; together with all the separate and secret articles, which had been communicated to me by the Imperial ministers here, in consequence of their joint invitation. My ministers at Petersburgh, after having declared, in general terms, my favourable disposition towards the accession, and produced their full powers, always kept themselves in readiness to enter upon business with the ministers authorized for that purpose by the two Empresses, but had no opportunity to do it sooner than the $\frac{8}{19}$ of September last at a conference ; and having then been desired to give their overtures in writing, they did so by a *pro memoria* signed the $\frac{1}{2}$ of September, a copy of which (marked A is hereunto annexed.

“Whereas, until the two Imperial courts make an answer thereto by their ministers at Petersburgh, and before I do, in consequence of it, come to a final determination in regard to my act of accession, it behoves me to come to a right understanding with the Empress-queen about the eventual partition which is to fall to my share, in case that princess, attacked again, contrary to better expectations, by the king of Prussia, should, by the concurrence of my assistance, make spoils and conquests on him, as it is more at large explained in the 12th article of the instruction abovementioned, which my ministers at Petersburgh were provided with the 23d of May, of the present year ; I charge you with this negotiation, and authorize you by the present order, and my intention is, that as my convention, signed at Leipstick, the 18th of May, 1745, with the queen of Hungary, a copy of which (marked B) you will find hereunto annexed, may serve as an eventual partition hereafter, excepting the third degree, or in case the court of Vienna should be able to recover, besides the county of Glatz, only all Silesia, with the principality of Crossen, the circle of Zulichau, and the fiefs of Bohemia, which the king of Prussia holds in Lusatia, you must demand for me, of the Empress-queen, a more considerable share in those conquests than the said principality, circle, and fiefs, and insist upon that princess's making me an offer of it, that I may then see whether it would suit my conveniency to acquiesce in it.” In making the overture of this my demand to the Empress-queen and to her ministers of confidence, you will shew them how just and equitable it is, that a more advantageous lot should be granted me, in order to indemnify me for the unhappy fate and the losses I have met with, for having formerly

merly assisted her Imperial majesty with all my forces. On your successive reports of the progress of your negotiation, I shall send you further orders, praying in the meantime God, &c. Done at Dresden, the 21st Dec. 1747.

AUGUSTUS R.

C. de Bruhl.

To the minister of conference and of state,
count de Loofs, at Vienna.

Numb. VI.

Extract of the Advice of his Polish Majesty's Privy-Council, about the Accession to the Treaty of Peterburgh; given the 15th of August, 1747.

We are likewise of opinion, that the fourth secret article exceeds the usual rules; because it is therein declared, that not only the case of an hostile aggression on the part of his Prussian majesty against her majesty the Empress-queen, but also the case of the like aggression against the Russian empire, or against the republic of Poland, is to be considered as a violation of the peace of Dresden, and must give her majesty the Empress-queen a right to recover the dutchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz. If your majesty should approve of that stipulation by your accession, our apprehensions from his Prussian majesty would greatly increase, and we should thereby acknowledge the principle, which on other occasions we have always opposed, viz. "That an auxiliary potentate is to be considered on the same foot as the belligerent power, &c."

Numb. VII.

Extract of the Advice of his Polish Majesty's Privy-Council. Sept. 17, 1748.

It has been stipulated in the secret article, that not only the case of the king of Prussia's attacking her majesty the Empress-queen, but also every aggression against the Russian empire, or against the republic of Poland, is to be looked upon as a violation of the peace of Dresden.

If then your majesty should approve by your accession, a principle so repugnant to the ordinary rules, the king of Prussia should he come to hear of it, might charge you with a violation of the treaty of Dresden, &c.

Numb. VIII.

Extract of a Postscript from Count de Bruhl to Count de Loofs at Paris, dated Dresden, June 12, 1747.

As to the two points mentioned in your excellency's letter of the 8th D. c. concerning which you desire the king's orders ; I am to tell you in his majesty's name, that though the pretending to require such a declaration be a little extraordinary, the king nevertheless permits your excellency to give a declaration, in order to assure, that the treaty in question contains nothing more than what is inserted in the German copy, which has been communicated, and that we know nothing of any separate or secret article ; but supposing likewise that any such articles existed, that they were communicated to us, and that we were invited to accede to them in like manner, France might be sure that we would not enter into any engagement that might tend to give her offence, or that might be any way contrary to our engagements with that crown.

Numb. IX.

Declaration of Count de Loofs to the French Ministry, 1747.

The underwritten ambassador extraordinary from his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is authorised to declare in the name of the king his master, that the treaty between the court of Vienna and that of Petersburgh, to which his majesty has been invited to accede, contains nothing more than what is found in the German copy, which the ambassador abovementioned has had the honour to deliver to the marquis de Puyzieulx ; nor has any separate or secret article been communicated to the king of Poland by the abovesaid courts. To which he is ordered to add, that in case such separate or secret article existed, and his Polish majesty should be invited to accede thereto ; in such case his said majesty would do nothing that might have a tendency to offend the most Christian king, or be any way inconsistent with the engagements that subsist between the king of Poland and his most Christian majesty by the treaty concluded between them the 21st April 1749. In witness whereof I have signed this declaration, and put the seal of my arms thereto. Done at the camp of the grand commandery, &c.

Numb.

Numb. X.

Extract of the Instructions given to General Arnim for his Mission to Petersburg, dated Feb. 19, 1750.

After this general Arnim may insinuate, that they must remember in what manner his majesty had long since declared by his ministers at Petersburg, the count de Vicedom and the sieur de Pezold, his inclination to accede to the treaty of Petersburg of the 22d of May 1746; and that it had been found that the question *An* was so closely linked with the question *Quomodo*, that the one could not be decided without the other.

That in the negotiation about the question *Quomodo*, all sorts of difficulties had occurred, as appears more at large by the memorial of the Russian ministry dated the 3d of January 1748, in answer to the memorial of the king's ministers of the 1st September 1747. But that his majesty flattered himself, from the friendship of her majesty the empress of Russia, and the good intentions of the Russian ministry, that nothing beyond his faculties would be required of him, and that his accession would be no otherwise demanded than upon condition, that he should not be charged with any thing that he was not capable of performing; that on the other hand, the two Imperial courts should promise him, in case of an hostile invasion of his patrimonial dominions in Germany, a speedy, sure, and sufficient assistance, by means of two armies to be always kept ready on the respective frontiers, which might be able to succour him immediately, or to make a diversion according to the exigency of the case; and in fine, that the share he is to have in the advantages that may be gained by good success in war, be positively determined.

XI.

Memorial delivered to Count de Keyserling, the Russian Minister at Dresden, the 26th June, 1756.

The king has not hesitated to declare already verbally to his excellency the count de Keyserling, the good dispositions his majesty is in, relatively to the definitive treaty of alliance and guaranty concluded at Petersburg the 22d May 1746,

between their Imperial majesties the empress of Russia and the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, to which treaty the king has been invited to accede.

This declaration, together with all that has been intimated at the same time to the said Russian minister, must still be fresh in his memory.

As we expressly reiterate here the same friendly declaration, which, among other salutary views, tends chiefly to prove his majesty's high consideration for their Imperial majesties and the other allies, and the value he sets on their friendship; so his majesty doubts not in the least, considering the so frequently reiterated assurances of the precious friendship of her majesty the empress of Russia, but that she will, in return, on occasion of the accession in question, previously and sufficiently provide for the safety of his majesty's hereditary dominions, and get the other allies to do the same.

In expectation of this, his majesty will speedily send the necessary instructions to his minister at the Russian court, for proceeding further in the matter, and bringing the negotiation in question to a happy issue.

And of this we would not fail to apprise his excellency count de Keyserling, that he may impart the same to his court, &c.

Dresden, June 26, 1751.

C. de Bruhl.

Numb. XII.

Extract of a Letter from Count de Flemming, to Count de Bruhl, dated from Vienna, Feb. 28, 1753.

Pursuant to the dispatch which your excellency honoured me with the 19th D. c. I have expressed to count d'Uhlefeld, the king our master's satisfaction at the clear and precise declaration of her majesty the Empress-queen on the agnition of the treaty which subsists between the two courts, and on the application to the case in question relating to the king of Prussia.

I added at the same time, that it would be proper, and the king my master expected it, that in imitation of Russia, they would likewise eventually authorise the respective ministers, who reside at the courts principally interested in maintaining peace, to declare in due time, and supposing there should

seem to be a necessity for it (before which we ourselves would not demand it) with what eye the Imperial courts would look upon any insult or wrong that might be done us by the king of Prussia.

Count d'Uhlefeld made answer, that there would be no difficulty about the orders to be sent on this head to their ministers, if we required it; but that he desired me again to consider, of what use such a declaration could be to us, and what impression it might make on the king of Prussia, when given in the sense of the treaty of 1743, considering the insufficiency of the succour therein stipulated: That he charged me to represent again, on this occasion, to my court, that they could not take measures enough against the ambitious views of the king of Prussia; and that Saxony especially, as being the most exposed, could not use too many precautions to guard against him: "That it was therefore highly necessary to strengthen our old engagements, on the foot proposed by the late count de Harrach in 1745. That this might be done on occasion of our accession to the treaty of Peterburgh, or in any other manner which to us should appear most convenient for our safety, and the fittest for keeping it secret:" That he thought there was no time to be lost, for putting themselves in a good posture of defence, as it appeared to him that the present situation of affairs absolutely required the allied courts to unite closer than ever, and that each of them should look upon the interests of his ally as his own, and, to use his own expressions, THAT ALL SHOULD ANSWER FOR EACH ONE, AND EACH ONE FOR ALL.

Numb. XIII.

Extract of a Letter from Count Bruhl to Count Flemming at Vienna, dated at Dresden, March 8, 1753.

I make use at the same time of the excursion of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and this safe opportunity, to communicate to you a report of the privy-council of the 3d D. c. containing the sentiments of that council concerning more extensive engagements, to which the court of Vienna invites us, on occasion of our approaching accession to the Russian treaty. This communication is to be of no other use to you, than to inform you, in what light the thing is viewed, and what difficulties are found in it. But, besides, the king does not like the expedient proposed, to insert at first, in our act

of accession, the reciprocal engagement of assisting one another with all our forces. Nevertheless his majesty is not averse to come to an understanding hereafter, under the utmost secrecy, with the court of Vienna, about such a succour, by private and confidential declarations, relative to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh, by means of just conditions and advantages, which, in this case, must also be granted to us, and in regard to which you may take *ad referendum* whatever they may please to propose to you. I am previously of opinion, that what was promised by the Empress-queen's declaration of the 3d May 1745, may serve for the basis.

Numb. XIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Vicedom to Count de Bruhl; dated St. Petersburg, April 18, 1747.

I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that Pretlach has told me in confidence, that, at a secret interview which he has had with the empress and the high-chancellor, he had found means, by confidential communications from his court, relative to divers secret practices of that prince, disadvantageous to her Imperial majesty, to inspire her with sentiments that have carried her enmity to the highest degree, insomuch that this ambassador imagines, there wants but a very small matter more to make her anger break out into some hostile act, &c.

I have therefore begun to address myself to the ambassador Pretlach, after having given him a detail of all the advantages that may result from our friendly proceedings for his court, and even for that of Russia, by procuring an accommodation with France, by which the Empress-queen may be more able to make head against the king of Prussia, &c.

Numb. XV.

Translation of a Letter from the Secretary of the Embassy, Weingarten, to Count d'Uhlefeld. Berlin, August 24, 1748.

The day before yesterday a courier from the earl of Hyndford passed through here, and brought me a dispatch from count de Bernes, which gives me and count de Keyserling great light into the military preparations in this country, since C. Bernes writes that the French and Prussian party in Sweden are strenuously labouring to procure absolute power for

for the prince-succeſſor: That, on account of theſe circumſtances, it was wiſhed that the Empreſs's journey to Moſcow could be prevented; and as nobody could more contribute towards it than the count de Keyſerling, conſidering the preparations and dangerous deſigns of the court of Berlin, he was to ſpirit up this miniſter for that purpoſe. The latter being already ſufficiently prejudiced againſt this court, I found no difficulty in carrying my point; for yeſterday he gave me a reading of his relation, drawn up according to the count de Bernes's wiſhes, and promiſed me to continue in that ſtrain every week.

Numb. XVI.

Letter from Count de Bernes to Count de la Puebla. Peterſburgh, Dec. 12, 1749.

I venture, under the ſeal of the greateſt ſecrecy, to make you the following requeſt. It is deſired that you would get it whiſpered to M. de Groſs, the Ruſſian miniſter, but with ſo much precaution that it may never be ſuſpected it comes from you, that ſome machinations are carrying on in Sweden againſt the Empreſs's perſon, in which the Pruſſian court has a good ſhare; and as the ſaid miniſter, probably, will not fail to make you a confident in this diſcovery, you are deſired to answer him, That as you know nothing of it, you will ſearch into it; and afterwards you are to confirm it to him as a thing that you have found out upon enquiry.

Numb. XVII.

Translated Extract of the Inſtruction given to General Arnim. Dresden, Feb. 19, 1750.

General Arnim muſt alſo take care to keep up in the Empreſs, and in her well-intentioned miniſters, a jealousy of the Pruſſian power, its aggrandizement, and the abuſe that is made of it; and in conſequence he muſt not fail to commend and applaud the attention, and all the meaſures, with which the Empreſs may oppoſe it, &c.

Numb. XVIII.

*Translated Extract of a Letter from the Sieur de Funck to
Count de Bruhl. St. Petersburg, Dec. 6, 1753.*

In relating the motives which he (Funck) and baron Pretlach, minister from Vienna, had alledged to the Russian ministers, for keeping always a powerful army on the frontiers of Prussia, he says he represented to them, among other things:

“ That this precaution was so much the more necessary,
“ considering the notorious views of the courts of France,
“ Prussia, and Sweden, in case of a vacancy in the throne
“ of Poland, as the king of Prussia would not then delay
“ executing his designs upon Polish Prussia, and on the
“ mouth of the Vistula——

“ That they should follow the example of the king of
“ Prussia, who does not regret any expences that may render
“ him more formidable, and has lately formed three
“ new regiments more: That the court of Russia need not
“ fear being abandoned by her allies, whenever she comes
“ to blows; that they know too well their own interest,
“ &c.”

Numb. XIX.

*Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl to the
Sieur Funck at Petersburg, Feb. 6, 1754.*

I doubt not but the court of Russia is already informed of the different movements and arrangements which the king of Prussia is making in the kingdom of that name, with the greatest celerity and the utmost secrecy, with respect to trade, the coin, and especially military preparations: I likewise hope, that court will be the more attentive thereto, as those preparations have been specially observed after the great augmentation of troops which the empress of Russia lately ordered to be made in her adjacent provinces, and that they seem to be in consequence thereof. I have, however, thought fit to communicate to you the advices on this head, which we have successively received, to the end that you may make use of them in your conferences with the ministry of the court where you reside. We are very attentive thereto, as we are no strangers to the king of Prussia's great desire to intermeddle in the domestic affairs of Poland; that his
pro.

projects to ruin the commerce of Poland, and particularly that of Dantzick, become every day more and more manifest; and that his views to aggrandize himself on that side, are certainly one of the most pleasing objects of his schemes.

Count Bruhl's dispatch of the 13th of February, 1754, contains nothing but a detail of the military preparations which the king was making in Prussia.

Extract of a Letter from the Sieur de Funck to Count de Bruhl, June 30th, 1754.

According to the report of the envoy, M. de Gros, your excellency himself has informed him that seven new Prussian regiments are soon to be raised. Your excellency is thanked for this advice, and at the same time assured, that a good use will certainly be made of it, as also of all other intelligence of this nature.

Numb. XX.

Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl to the Sieur Funck. Warsaw, July 28, 1754.

The designs which some ill-intentioned powers are hatching in regard to Courland, disclose themselves; besides other tokens and preparations, by the public Gazettes of Berlin, which sometimes announce the death of the unhappy duke, and sometimes his desperate state of health, in order thus to prepare the public for future events, &c.

Numb. XXI.

Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl to the Sieur Funck. Warsaw, August 2, 1754.

Speaking of the umbrage taken by the Porte at the fortresses which the Russian court was building on the frontiers of Turkey, he adds:

“As the courts of France and Prussia have hitherto constantly laboured to draw the Ottoman Porte into a war against Russia, this affair would throw a fine game into their hands; the king of Prussia would then no longer delay pulling off the mask, and manifesting the design of his continual armaments; in which case Courland might possibly become the first sacrifice to his ambition.”

Numb.

Numb. XXII.

*Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl to the
Sieur Funck, dated Dec. 1, 1754.*

I cannot conceal from you a piece of intelligence I have received, concerning a new project of the king of Prussia, to facilitate his views of aggrandizement. It is known that that prince has long been endeavouring to bring the courts of Sweden and Denmark into his interest. Having failed in the overture he made in Denmark, on occasion of prolonging the subsidiary treaty between that court and France, he is now thinking of other methods to fix the said court in his interest.

The birth of the young grand duke of Russia must have appeared to him a favourable opportunity to gain that end: for as he imagines that after this event, which secures the succession in the dutchy of Holstein, the negotiation for exchanging that dutchy against the county of Oldenburgh will meet with more difficulties, and that the king of Denmark would not, without great reluctance, drop a project which would give his dominions the compactness he so much desires: 'tis pretended that he has proposed another plan to the Danish court, in order to succeed in his views. We have not yet been able to find out the nature of this plan, nor in what manner he has promised to back it, whether it tends to make use even of violent means, and what he would stipulate for himself in return. However, my advices make me conjecture, that he has not forgot in this project the pretext of the Greek religion, which the Grand Duke has embraced, and which is not one of the religions tolerated in the Empire; and that he flatters himself, by this means, to engage therein the Empire, and the guarantees of the peace of Westphalia.

Though I pretend not to be any way positive in regard to this project, which, after all, agrees so well with the genius of the king of Prussia; and though I am likewise of opinion, that the court of Denmark will not be the dupe of it; the bare idea of such a project does nevertheless seem important enough for you to impart it in confidence to the Russian ministry, but still with the necessary caution, &c.

Numb. XXIII.

Translated Extract of a Letter from the Sieur de Funck to Count de Bruhl. Petersburg, June 9, 1755.

It would be doing good service to the common cause, if a friendly hint were given to M. de Gros, that he should mention in general terms, in one of his reports, merely to afford occasion for insinuating it dexterously to the Empress, that the king of Prussia must have found out a channel in Courland to get exact information of the secrets of this court, &c.

Numb. XXIV.

Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl to M. Funck, dated July 23, 1755.

In acknowledging the receipt of your dispatch of the 30th past, I shall tell you I have not failed to discharge, in regard to M. de Gros, the commission contained in your letter of the 9th past. He received with thankfulness the advice that was given him, that nothing could render him more acceptable to his court, than making in his reports frequent and artful mention of the pernicious views and artifices of the Prussians, which are but too true; and he will not fail to profit of this counsel, &c.

Numb. XXV.

Extract of a Letter from the Sieur Funck to Count de Bruhl. Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1755.

What I can positively say, concerning the object of the deliberations of the last grand council, consists in this: That in taking for their basis the known result of the grand council at Moscow, they have again laid it down as a fundamental maxim for time to come, to oppose with all their forces the farther aggrandizement of the house of Brandenburg, and for this purpose to put themselves in so good a posture, that they may take advantage of the first opportunity that shall offer; "and they are resolved to attack the king of Prussia without any ulterior discussion, not only in the case of this prince's attacking any of the allies of this court; but this is likewise to take place, if the king of Prussia should be attacked by one of the said allies of this court."

To

To this end, they will erect magazines for an hundred thousand men at Riga, Mittau, Liebau, and Windau; and they have found for this service a fund of two millions and a half of roubles, and another annual fund of a million and a half to maintain these arrangements.

Numb. XXVI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl to Secretary Prasle at Petersburg, June 2, 1756.

As to the secret commission for transmitting to Peterburgh, by concealed means, advice of the Prussian machinations in the Ukraine, we are yet in search of a good and safe channel; and they shall very soon perceive, in some shape or other, the effect of my personal inclination to second so good, though somewhat artful, an intention.

Numb. XXVII.

Extract of a Letter from Count de Flemming to Count de Bruhl, Vienna, June — 1756.

I am further to add, that count Keyserling has been enjoined, by the last rescript, to spare neither pains nor money to come to an exact knowledge of the state of the revenues of this court. It is likely that they want to be informed of it, in order to know exactly, whether this court can easily support, by its own funds, and without the assistance of England, the charges of a war; and whether it can, besides, furnish subsidies, &c.

From the same, dated June 9.

There is reason to presume, that it has been concerted between the two Imperial courts of Vienna and Russia, that the latter, the better to mask the true reasons of her armament, should do it under the apparent pretext of thereby keeping herself in a condition to fulfil her engagements contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England, in case of need; and when all the preparations are finished, then to fall suddenly upon the king of Prussia, &c.

From the same, dated June 9.

By the general and obscure overtures which a certain minister has made to the sieur Prasle, touching the armament of Russia, and which your excellency has been pleased to communicate to me by the said dispatch; I have remarked that that minister begins to grow more reserved and mysterious about the intentions of his court. This reserve seems to me conformable to that which is practised here, where they also only give one to understand, that they have no other design than to remain quiet, and prepare in the mean time against any event that may happen in the present junctures, &c.

Numb. XXVIII.

Vienna, July 23. 1756.

Letter from Count Flemming to Count de Bruhl.

Monfieur,

Monfieur Klingræff received last Saturday an exprefs from his court, in consequence of which he sent a note the next morning to count de Kaunitz, earnestly entreating him to appoint an hour for a conference with him: This note was delivered to the chancellor of state, just while he was in conference with the marshals Neuperg and Brown, and general prince Piccolomini. And as he intended to wait upon the Empress-queen immediately after the conference, in order to make her a report thereof, he sent word to M. Klingræff, that he was indeed obliged to go to Schœnbrunn, but nevertheless he would be obliged to him if he would hasten to him that very instant; which the Prussian minister did not fail to do. Count de Kaunitz told me in confidence, at a conversation I had with him yesterday morning, that M. Klingræff, on his accosting him, gave him to understand, with a certain embarrassment mixed with uneasiness, that he had just received an exprefs from his court, who brought him some orders, the contents of which he was to lay before the Empress-queen in person, and for this purpose he was enjoined to demand a private audience of her Imperial majesty, which he desired he would be pleased to procure for him. That he, count Kaunitz, made answer, that being just ready to set out for Schœnbrunn, he willingly took upon him to demand the audience he desired; but could not avoid letting him understand, that it was proper

per he should be enabled at least, in general terms, to give the Empress previous notice of the nature of the insinuations he had orders to make to her majesty. Whereupon M. de Klinggræff told him, that he was charged to demand amicably, and by way of eclairecissement, in the name of the king his master, what was the tendency of the armaments and military preparations making here, and whether they might not, perhaps, concern him; which, however, he could not imagine, as he did not know that he had given the least occasion for them. That he, Kaunitz, replied, that he could not just then make any answer to that overture; that he would not fail to make a report thereof immediately to the Empress, and procure him the audience he requested: That, nevertheless, he could not forbear telling him, that he was surprised at the explanation which the king his master required concerning the measures taken in this country, seeing this court had expressed no uneasiness or umbrage at the great movements and preparations which had been previously observed in his army. This minister farther told me, "That having set out immediately after for Schœnbrunn, he had reflected by the way on the answer he should advise his sovereign to give M. Klinggræff; and having thought he perceived that the king of Prussia had two objects in view, which this court was desirous equally to avoid, viz. to come to conferences and eclairecissements, that might at first cause a suspicion of the measures which they judged necessary to be continued vigorously; and secondly, to lead matters further on, to other propositions and more essential engagements; he had therefore judged that the answer ought to be of such a nature as might entirely elude the king of Prussia's question; and that, in leaving no more room for further explanations, it should at the same time be resolute and polite, without being susceptible of any interpretation either sinister or favourable. That pursuant to this notion, it appeared to him sufficient, that the Empress should content herself with simply answering, That in the violent general crisis Europe was now in, her duty and the dignity of her crown required her to take sufficient measures for her own security as well as for the safety of her friends and allies." That the Empress-queen had approved of this answer; and to shew that the king of Prussia's step and demand did not occasion the least embarrassment here, her majesty immediately ordered the hour of M. Klinggræff's audience to be fixed for the next day, which was the day before yesterday: and after hearing that minister's proposition, just as he had

had imparted it the preceding day to count de Kaunitz, she had answered him precisely in the terms abovementioned, and then suddenly broke off the audience with a nod, without entering into any further detail. It is certain that all Vienna, being then assembled in the Empress-queen's drawing-room, as it was a day of *galla*, saw M. Klingraëff enter, and depart in a very few minutes, with an embarrassed countenance. I have all these particulars from the mouth of count de Kaunitz, who on this occasion has talked to me with more openness and confidence, than he had hitherto done, and even charged me to make use of them in my dispatches to your excellency, but still with the greatest secrecy.

It is so much the less doubted that this answer, equally strong and obscure, will greatly puzzle the king of Prussia; and 'tis pretended here, that that prince must be under a great deal of uneasiness, and that he has already drawn three millions of crowns out of his treasury, for the charges of his preparations and augmentations.

It is presumed, and not without probability, that his design in the demand abovementioned was, that if he had been answered, that he himself had been the cause of the armaments made here, he would have endeavoured to clear himself of the charge, by alledging, in proof of his innocence, that for this very reason he did not even form the camps which he has already traced to exercise his soldiers, but had ordered the regiments to separate; perhaps imagining he should lay this court under a necessity to follow his example by discontinuing likewise its preparations. However, I think, he will find it no easy matter to divert it from its design by such illusions as these.

We have learned by an express who arrived last Sunday from the count de Puebla, that notwithstanding the feigned dispositions of the king of Prussia, his troops still continued filing off towards Silesia. Besides, it is very easily understood that that prince, by the local position of his army, which he can assemble in as many weeks as it would require months to do the same here, on account of the distance of the places where the troops are quartered, has too visible an advantage over this court, which he can put to such great expences by long and continual marches, that they would at last become intolerable: I say, it is very readily understood, that it is necessary to pursue, without interruption, the measures already begun, in order to put themselves, in the present circumstances, upon equal terms, and in a good condition; that the king

king of Prussia may be thereby obliged, to keep up his armaments and the augmentations made, and to be made, which exceed his faculties, or waste himself gradually; or else, in order to prevent this inconvenience, to take a precipitate resolution; which, I think, is the very thing expected from him.

The return of M. Klingraeff's courier, which the said prince, no doubt, waits for with the utmost impatience, will give us more light into his dispositions. There is reason to believe, that if he thinks himself menaced, he will no longer delay coming to action, and preventing those whom he dreads, in order to take advantage of the situation in which this court will be till the end of the month of August, which is the term when all the troops are to be assembled. But on the other hand, if he remains quiet, he may be persuaded that he will not be molested or attacked, *at least not this year*. However, from all the observations I make, I cannot but imagine, that this court must be very sure of the friendship and attachment of Russia. And this seems to me to be farther confirmed by a letter of the 6 D. c. from M. Swart, the Dutch minister at Petersburg, to M. de Burmannia, wherein he writes among other things, that the French emissary, the chevalier Douglas, gained ground every day.

As this cannot fail of producing an alteration in the old system of Russia, it does not appear surprising that the high-chancellor count Bestucheff, agreeably to what your excellency did me the honour to write to me in your last dispatch, has resolved to retire into the country, under the pretext of recovering his health, and to withdraw a-while from public business; as he may be willing to wait what turn affairs may take, and perhaps foresees that the hour is at hand, since the whole seems to depend on the king of Prussia's resolution; it being certain, that if he remains quiet, the court of Vienna will not begin to act neither, at least this year: but she will endeavour, during that interval, to finish her preparations, that she may the next year be in a situation to take a course suitable to the circumstances and events which time may produce.

This confirms me more and more in the opinion which I ventured to take the liberty to communicate to your excellency in my former letters, that our court has no surer means to profit by the present conjunctures, which, perhaps, never were so favourable during the reign of our august master, than by putting itself in a good posture, to the end that its concurrence

entrence may be courted. A friend of mine, who pretends to have his information from one of the clerks of the treasury, assures me, that this court has remitted a million of florins to Russia."

Count de Kaunitz has told me, that the advices which your excellency had conveyed to him of reports spread by the king of Prussia, concerning alliances to be made between him and us, as also with Russia; and, moreover, that this court was taking upon her to mediate between France and England; has already been sent to him by other hands, and consequently deserved the more attention, as well as to be contradicted; which the Empress-queen's ministers at the courts of Europe would accordingly be ordered to do. This chancellor of state further told me, there was advice, that the king of Prussia had had an intention to surprize the city of Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania; and that, if this proved true, it was likely to be in consequence of the plot lately discovered at Stockholm.

If your excellency has an opportunity to make insinuations with safety at the court of London, you might perhaps do it some service by apprizing it of the danger into which it has been led by those who now have the greatest influence there.

It will be a hard task for that court to get out of the distress, which she has plunged herself into; and if she does not detach herself from the king of Prussia, by making her peace with France on the best conditions that can be had, the latter will go on from success to success, and from one project to another, which in the long run may prove fatal to the house of Hanover.

I beg it as a favour of your excellency, that you would not descend to particulars with M. de Broglie about any thing I have the honour to write to your excellency; because that ambassador holds a correspondence with M. d'Aubeterre, who has told me with some surprize, that the count de Broglie was fully persuaded, that mischief was intended against the king of Prussia, and even accused him of distrust and too much reserve concerning the designs of the court of Vienna.

The marquis d'Aubeterre having long solicited permission to absent himself from his post for a few months, in order to attend his family affairs, which require his presence at Paris, has at last obtained his request.

General Karoli, and not general Nadaſti, as was thought, has juſt been declared bann of Croatia.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. Flemming.

Numb. XXIX.

Dreſden, July 6, 1751.

To Count de Flemming at Vienna.

I take the opportunity of the departure of a courier, ſent by count de Sternberg to his court, with the advices which the count de Puebla has lately communicated to him, concerning the mighty warlike preparations of the king of Pruſſia, which ſeem to threaten more and more a rupture on his part.

Your excellency cannot fail of being more particularly and ſpecially informed of theſe advices and dangerous appearances, by the miniſtry of their Imperial majeſties, and I content myſelf with transmitting to you the annexed extract of the laſt letter from M. de Bulow, who mentions the ſame apprehenſions. Having juſt been diſcourſing in confidence on this ſubject with count de Sternberg, I am to authoriſe you, to confer on an object ſo intereſting to both courts, with the miniſtry of that court where you reſide; to make them ſenſible of the difficulties and dangers to which we ſhould be expoſed, by the paſſage of a Pruſſian army through Saxony, which our ſituation would no way permit us to oppoſe, or perhaps by ſome ulterior and more ſignificative propoſition and demand, which his Pruſſian majeſty might make on that occaſion; and to engage them to open their mind to us with the utmoſt confidence, in regard to the meaſures they intend to purſue, in order to preſerve themſelves from an unjuſt attack, and at the ſame time to cover and protect the dominions of the king our maſter, which are again menaced through our faithful attachment to our allies.

To answer the laſt intent, it would no doubt be neceſſary to aſſemble forthwith a ſufficient army in the circles of Bohemia that are neareſt to our frontiers; and it would be equally uſeful to the two courts, if her majeſty the Empreſs-queen would be pleaſed to order field-maſhal Brown to communicate and concert matters, at all events, and with the proper caution and ſecrecy, with our field-maſhal count Rutowski, whom the king has already authoriſed for this purpoſe.

Being

Being persuaded that the court of Vienna finds her own account in our safety and preservation, I have explained myself on all this more at large with the count de Sternberg, who will not fail to give an exact account thereof by the same courier; and for the rest, I can depend on your penetration, zeal and address, which dispense with my adding here all the reflections and essential motives, suitable to this critical situation, and agreeable to the connections subsisting between the two courts.

I only entreat your excellency to hasten, as much as possible, the eclaircissements you may have to send me.

I am, &c.

G g 2

ANSWERS

ANSWERS of the Court of VIENNA, TO THE PRUSSIAN Declarations, circular Re- scripts, and Memorials.

— One thing remains to be cleared up; this is the great mystery which the king of Prussia thought proper to reveal to the public, with a view of justifying his precipitant measures in infracting the peace.

The spoils of the secret cabinet of Dresden are to afford him the materials, and to supply the want of true *motives* for his antecedent invasion.

In civil and private affairs it is, indeed, true, that no judge would admit of things, violently taken from the party accused, as a legal and good evidence. In political affairs, we have not yet had any such instance which might be imitated without prejudice to the law of nations.

But whatever these proceedings so violent, and never heard of, may come to, the intentions of Prussia cannot obtain their end by them. There is first the chief and most material question; “Do these pieces of correspondence, so taken and then published in the Prussian *memorial*, actually and really exist? And if they do, are their contents truly the same as related? And, suppose them to be originals, are they not false and supposititious?”

These pretended originals are communicated only by way of extracts not duly connected; hence there remains a suspicion, that such passages as did not suit the publisher of them, were purposely left out, or at least disguised by some able hand.

Such, and many other reasonable doubts could be made, and this alone is enough to prevent an easy belief. It is a matter of surprize to see these pieces obtruded upon the public, from which it was expected that every body would blindly trust the Prussian compiler to believe them, without examining the allegations.

The contents of the *memorial*, when duly examined, manifestly tend to mislead an inadvertent reader by the misinterpretations of those pieces, called Justifying Proofs, which shew the very contrary of what the Prussian court affects to have found therein. It is, indeed, hard to find out a reason, why they were published; there being many things, which the rules of policy ought to have induced the court of Berlin to conceal.

Directly in the preamble of the said *memorial* its author has committed a manifest blunder by annexing the *a2*, or as he styles it, *The Treaty of Partition*, which, indeed, was entered into by his Polish majesty, as elector of Saxony, the 18th of May, 1745, during the late war; and forgetting at the same time, or wilfully omitting, the *union-project*, delivered to his Polish majesty by count Harrach, after the conclusion of the peace of Dresden: though he is endeavouring to found his whole reasoning upon the renewal of the said *a2* of the year 1745, which is contained therein.

However, the reason of this artful concealment is not difficult to be guessed at. He saw that, by the sketch thereof, there would appear the most sincere resolutions, faithfully and religiously to observe the reiterated conclusion of the treaty of peace, ratified by both parties, which was made the preliminary article to this *union-project*. The rest contained two provisions, one for time of peace, and the other for a future time of war. Concerning the first, it was stipulated that every thing should go on according to that quite innocent treaty of the 20th of December, 1743, and the *a2* of the 13th of May, 1744; so that it was impossible to make any objections against it. In the article concerning a future time of war, proper care was taken, for fear of any misinterpretation, and therefore the following words were made use of; "But if, notwithstanding the management to be observed by the two contracting parties towards Prussia, and the sincerity and faith in fulfilling the treaties concluded, a new interruption of the peace established the 25th of December of last year, should on the other hand be undertaken, and consequently, *the same circumstances, as they were before the conclusion of this double peace, lay the parties, according to all the laws both divine and human, under the same obligation towards each other; in such a case, but neither before, or otherwise, all shall be esteemed, renewed, and compromised, what the secret convention, signed Dresden, April 29th, and Vienna, May 3d, 1745, is capable of.*"

Who but the author of the above *memorial*, could look upon such proposals as of an extraordinary nature? According to the difference of times, different former conventions are proposed to be renewed; and the measures to be taken in a future time of war, are not to bind, nor take effect, until, *according to all the laws, both divine and human*, the parties were no more bound to peace; and the full right of such treaties should not before be entered upon, or avail.

This was the project, and so it remained, as appears, among other things, from the answer of count Bruhl to count Flemming's letter, containing the intimation of count Uhlefeld, dated March 8th, 1753, and inserted among the Prussian Justifying Proofs, Numb. XIII. where some other conventional propositions are mentioned, to which count Bruhl made this answer; "I am previously of opinion, that what was promised us in the *declaration* of May 3d, 1745, might serve for the basis."

The abuse made of this first allegation by the Prussian court, will be a pattern to judge of the rest.

Two manifest falsities betray themselves in a particular manner in the allegation of two letters, Numb. XV. and XVI; one was written by Mr. Weingarten, the ambassador's secretary, and directed to count Uhlefeld at Vienna: the other is a letter of count Bernes to the Empress-queen's minister at Berlin. It is neither probable or comprehensible, that such originals could ever have happened to be put up in the secret cabinet of Dresden. However, suppose them to be originals, the first of these letters does not contain any thing prejudicial, but only the truth, concerning the continual military preparations of Prussia. The second letter are private thoughts of a minister, which his court, on recognition, never would have approved of, but rather censured them with indignation.—

The case of her majesty the Empress-queen was very different from that of the king of Prussia: the continual danger of an attack she was in, since the peace of Dresden, was a real concern. The experience of repeated infractions of the peace, committed by Prussia, and followed within a few years one by another, left no room to the court of Vienna to expect another fate: for the king of Prussia was continually arming himself, and augmenting his forces; though the peace was but lately concluded, and no probability of any danger; the house of Austria being engaged in another war, Russia at a

great distance, and Saxony too weak for any enterprize: but Prussia was so serious in its preparations, as made it hard to distinguish a time of peace and a time of actual war from each other.

Adding the notorious turbulent temper of the present king, his continual intrigues with foreign courts, his contraventions, his raising disputes among his neighbours; nothing could be expected but that he would play his game again the first opportunity, and unexpectedly interrupt the most solemn treaties of peace: by which it would appear, that he only had made peace in order to prepare for another war with renewed strength.

The Imperial court of Russia has no less interest in the support of the house of Austria, than this house in the undisturbed tranquillity of the Russian monarchy, and both courts in the defence of the republic of Poland against the aggrandizing views of Prussia, and its intermeddling with the domestic affairs of this kingdom. Therefore no better method could be taken to provide for the common welfare and future safety, than the union of the two courts, which was effected by the treaty of 1746, obliging each other to unite their strength for setting proper bounds to the overgrown power of Prussia, if this king, not satisfied with the considerable acquisitions he had made, should again proceed to some hostilities against either of the contracting parties, or the republic of Poland, their ally.

These are the contents, and the view of the *fourth secret article* of this *defensive treaty* of friendship, concluded at Petersburg, 1746, to which the Prussian *memorial* was endeavouring to give a false colour, by pretending it to be *offensive*.

How was it possible, in any convention, to use plainer terms, or more binding expressions, than were made use of in this very article? The parties obliging each other to observe religiously the peace concluded at Dresden with the king of Prussia in every particular, and irrevocably to continue the renunciation and cession of Silesia and Glatz, without having any regress to the rights so renounced, *until it should happen that the king of Prussia himself, by attacking first Austria, Russia, or the republic of Poland, should make such a case to exist.*

The king of Prussia therefore had no reason to take umbrage at this article; the regress to the rights upon Silesia and Glatz being only casual; for it was in his power, by only omitting hostilities, to make it void and ineffectual.—

The *fourth secret article* of this convention between the two Imperial courts, is a convincing proof that their motives and views, from the beginning, and ten years after, were no more than to procure a sufficient security against the dangerous neighbourhood of Prussia, and to agree before-hand upon proper measures to be taken for maintaining the general repose, including the republic of Poland, as an ally to both parties by compacts. The far-fetched Prussian inductions and idle insinuations of an offensive design, are therefore to be looked upon as entirely defeated by the nature of the abovementioned secret article, and its literal sense.

But suppose the engagements of the two courts by the treaty of Petersburg, for obtaining this salutary end, had been to send some succours, without entering previously into a close union to stand with their united force against the original disturber of the peace, would not such measures have proved insufficient, and the execution thereof very dangerous, or even impossible? For the stipulated succours of 60,000 men could not have been sent to such distant provinces without weakening the security of frontiers.

The peaceable intentions of the two courts required no more than mutual engagements conditionally entered upon, in case Prussia should make the first attack, and again disturb the common peace; which, doubtless, is a real and true mark to distinguish *defensive from offensive alliances*.

But the Prussian writers go a great deal farther, and endeavour to persuade the public, that a prince is authorized to invade his neighbour, only upon a probability and suspicion of being in danger to be attacked. If it be so, how can they maintain, that the Empress-queen could, or ought not to have taken measures by a treaty with Russia, against a turbulent neighbour, who broke the peace three or four times, unprovoked by the house of Austria, and its allies? Self-preservation, which is founded on the principles of the law of nature, prescribes this rule, "That one ought to be
"the more circumspect and careful in providing sufficient
"means, the greater the power is of a disturber, in order
"to oppose effectually his designs."

Any power is authorized, beyond controversy, to convene with other powers for preserving the general tranquillity; and no one can justly take offence at, or look upon it as a derogation from his rights. There may be several circumstances which require, according to the laws of society, that some number of them should join hands for this purpose. If

this should be neglected, and a disturber be sure of never losing, but keeping what he has, or what was ceded to him for the sake of peace, or of increasing his possessions to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours, there would be no living in this world in peace and safety for any state.

We may remember the famous quadruple alliance concluded, with general approbation, in the year 1718, which perfectly agrees with our principles abovementioned. The seventh article, and the third secret article, as also the second article of the accession-act of the States-General, February 20, 1732, are particularly to be taken notice of. This alliance being made solely for the maintenance of public tranquillity, will be a sufficient and convincing proof that the two maritime powers, in case of an attack, have engaged themselves to a great deal more towards Austria, than Russia has done in the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburg. The article last mentioned of this quadruple alliance, is comprised in the following formal expressions; "But in case the auxiliaries abovementioned should be found insufficient, in regard to the impendent necessity, then the contracting parties shall, without delay, agree to a more ample supply, and be bound, in order to repel the force of the enemy, and to procure satisfaction, reparation, and full security to the party offended, to assist, if necessity should require it, their ally with all their forces, and declare war against the aggressor." These last words, undoubtedly, imply all the effects of a declared war on the part of the aiding powers.

The king of Prussia therefore ought not to have taken offence at the secret article of the treaty of Petersburg; for the two contracting parties would never have had it in their power to make use of it for the recovery of Silesia, as long as the king of Prussia had had so much power over himself as to enjoy the advantages secured to him by the treaty of Dresden, in peace and quiet; especially as in the same place where this article makes mention of the Prussian hostilities, these remarkable words are added; "In case his majesty the king of Prussia should, contrary to expectation, and against our common wishes, first recede from that peace."

And again the following condition, expressed in the strongest terms possible, "That the two contracting parties should do their utmost to prevent it." And again these words, "That such measures should only then, but not before, take place, when their peaceable endeavours were frustrated."

Was

Was there ever taken more care to avoid even a mere shadow of offence? And yet the Prussian Memorial in vindication of the conduct of the King, makes bold to interpret that, which was intended to prevent any suspicion of an offensive alliance, as a formal plan of an offensive convention tending to dispossess the king of Prussia of Silesia.——

The electorate of Saxony has hitherto had the same reasons as the house of Austria, and more too, to be on its guard with the utmost caution, on account of the dangerous Prussian neighbourhood; and, in consequence thereof, to long for aid and deliverance. It was however obliged, on account of its situation and inferior strength, to keep scrupulously and with the utmost care, within the bounds of respect.

The Prussian court, at present, accuses the court of Saxony, from its own secret papers, of no more than an inclination and design to accede to the measures of Austria and Russia, and this only in case of a Prussian rupture. But it appears very plainly that the fact, *i. e.* the actual accession, did not follow. Witness all the pretended Justifying Proofs, and the Memorial itself, which does not deny the truth in this respect.

It is granted, that the court of Berlin could not possibly expect any other resolutions from the court of Saxony, considering the unneighbourly manner and oppressions, both in regard to commerce and other provincial affairs, Saxony suffered from Prussia since the late peace. It is no wonder, when such a conduct has grieved the Saxon ministers to their heart, and made them speak more freely to others about it; yet the court ought not to be made responsible for it, nor the whole country treated cruelly, the effect of which may be felt for a whole century.

The king of Prussia, who makes this his motive for his present unwarrantable procedures against Saxony, betrays thereby his excessive pride; for he seems to imagine himself the monarch against whom all the powers make themselves guilty of treason, and the most abominable conspiracies, as soon as they entertain but a thought of refusing the yoke of Prussian superiority, or presuming to withdraw themselves from his punishing rod.

If a mere intention to oppose unnatural violences is a sufficient charge against the electoral house of Saxony, what can the world judge of such designs as never, to this time, tended to prevent violences, but to act arbitrarily against
other

other powers, and to oppress all the neighbours? Such are the facts too often committed by Prussia.

The electoral court of Saxony would not find it a difficult matter to expose to the whole world the falsity of the accusations, which Prussia so much endeavours to demonstrate from its pretended Justifying Proofs, and to confront the idle interpreter of them: for, indeed, the pretences so much boasted of, cannot, upon a closer comparison of the circumstances, have any great weight with the unprejudiced reader.

For instance, what hostile designs can be gathered from the two sentiments of the privy council to his majesty the king of Poland and elector of Saxony, annexed, by way of extract, to the Prussian Memorial, Numb. VI. and VII. The first of these sentiments contains not a word of their looking upon the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburg, as an offensive convention: they only say, that upon a future existence of the case of covenant, all the contracting and acceding parties were to be regarded as belligerent parties; which, according to the above true principles, and frequent examples, is not against the nature of a defensive alliance. The second sentiment takes only notice of what the king of Prussia, according to his own way of thinking, might say, and how he would take and misapply the matter.

Most of the other allegations are to this purport: That the electoral court of Saxony would direct its measures according to future events, waiting first a Prussian attack and subsequent diversion to be made by its allies. There is not found any trace, to discover by, some real concert resembling offensive measures, that were taken in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, previous to the Prussian invasion of Saxony; though this court is accused of such by Prussia. The hopes of the Saxon court were fixed only on future events, which appears by the letter of count Bruhl, inserted in the Prussian Memorial, dated but a short time before hostilities were commenced, *viz.* the 18th of July. His words are these; "Neither do I despair, but we may be able
" to avail ourselves of such favourable events, as will, per-
" haps, occur hereafter."

Allegations of this kind are quite opposite to the pretexts of Prussia, and clearly prove that no defensive, much less offensive measures were then concerted with the court of Dresden, though it was then time to enter upon them against the approaching enemy.

It likewise appears, by Numb. XIX. that the armaments of Prussia have begun to be extraordinary as early as in the year 1754; which is confirmed by Numb. XX. giving an account of the raising of seven new Prussian regiments.

The letters of count Flemming to count Bruhl, Numb. XXVII. and XXVIII. contain so many sensible considerations on the nature of affairs, as they stood then, but a short time before the Prussian invasion, that it is hard to comprehend the reasons that could induce the court of Berlin to make them public. The answers given by the court of Vienna to the demands of Prussia, make part of these letters, which are in substance, "That the court of Vienna had no other view than to keep peace, but was obliged to prepare against all events." And again, "That this court had no design for war, but would not be wanting to prepare for its own defence; and that it could not enter upon any farther declarations to its own prejudice." Again, "That the king of Prussia should not be attacked at least this year, provided he remained quiet," &c.

The rest of all these letters, and the conjectures concerning future events, are ministerial sentiments, which do not determine any thing, much less advance any convincing proof of a resolution being taken, previous to the Prussian invasion, to change the defensive treaty with Russia into an offensive alliance, which, according to the above principles, the parties would have been fully authorized to do.

It is but the fancy of Prussia, that bare letters and the sentiments of a foreign minister can be taken for proofs, in opposition to the plainest declarations given by the court itself, where such a minister resides.

But the court of Vienna did not find proper to make a new declaration in compliance with the Prussian dictates, after a sufficient answer was given already to the first demand. The reason was this: the truce proposed for two years supposed an actual war and real offensive circumstances, or offensive measures agreed upon by the two Empresses, which this court could not, against truth, and the assurances already given, allow to be the case; and because the obligations by the peace of Dresden would, in consequence of such a declaration, have been void.

As for the court of Vienna in particular, the Prussians might have spared themselves the trouble of stretching forth
their

their hands to unlawful means, and the violent breaking open of the royal cabinet in a neutral country and co-estate of the Empire. This court never had a mind to deny its distrust in regard to the king of Prussia, or to disguise its designs by giving a close attention to the continual armaments and unwarrantable violences committed on all sides: nor could this court be frightened by a Prussian aggression, or deterred from its defensive measures by any threats and artifices. There have been taken, since the late breach, the most effectual measures, in order to make the author of the present troubles repent of his open injustice, violences, and rash perfidy.

These general answers to the Prussian pieces are thought sufficient; there being nothing found therein but a heap of useless and odious repetitions of the same signment. The far-fetched accusations about things not belonging to the subject, cannot be called real charges, but Prussian calumnies. The subtleties of arguing, and other scholastic stuff about the difference between offensive and defensive wars, are not worth a reply, as long as the aggressor cannot make good by convincing proofs, but only by idle assertions and tales so often contradicted, his false supposition, "That Austria made the first preparations for war, and agreed with Russia and Saxony upon offensive measures."

But since a proof, so contrary to manifest truth, cannot possibly be expected, it also must not be expected on our part, that we should enter upon the particulars of the late Prussian impressions intended to confute the reply of the court of Vienna to the Prussian declaration, and to claim the guarantee of the Empire for its disturber. The public cannot have been much edified by the regard due to crowned heads which they boast of, nor discovered any thing very material that could be deemed a pattern, (except for affronting): her majesty the Empress-queen can be very easy in regard to her co-estates, there being no reason of their odium towards her for any violences, or dangerous designs against their liberties and ancient rights.

As for Mr. Weingarten the younger, it is enough to acquaint here the public with one particular circumstance, which, as for truth, may be depended upon. He has, for near two years, had a Prussian pension, which was paid to him by the sieur Eichel, privy counsellor to the king; and the king himself has twice entered upon some discourse with him.

him. From this the impartial public will judge what ought to be thought of the Prussian Excuse and Cabinet-order conceived in uncommonly polite terms; and whether it is not probable that this gentleman is still secreted somewhere by the king of Prussia. His person and family have often been demanded, but without effect.

Finally, it appears very plain, that no tranquillity for Europe, nor any security for the Empire, or its states, of what religion soever, is to be hoped for, as long as the king of Prussia can, with success, commit violences after violences, destroy whole provinces, and break through the most solemn treaties of peace, at his pleasure.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.



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